The Craftsman: Being a Critique On the Times, Volume 1 - Primary Source Edition

Viscount Henry John St. Bolingbroke, Nicholas Amhurst, William Pulteney Bath

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VOL: I.

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RAFTSMAN. By Caleb D'Anvers, of Gray's Inn, F roke, W. Pulteney and others]. 7 vol., 8vo, frontisp aron, calf gilt, shabby. £1 10 0 *R. Franc*

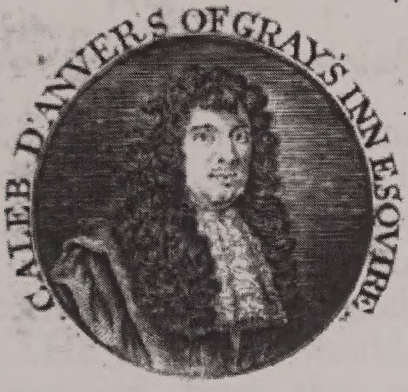
CRAFTSMAN.

BY

CALEB D'ANVERS,

of GRAY'S-INN, Esq;

Reus in Judicium adductus est C. VERRES, homo vita atque factis, omnium jam opinione, damnatus; pecuniæ magnitudine, sua spe, ac prædicatione absolutus. Huic ego causæ, Judices, cum summa voluntate & expectatione populi Romani actor accessi; non ut augerem invidiam ordinis, sed ut infamiæ communi succurrerem. Adduxi enim hominem, in quo reconciliare existimationem judiciorum amissam; redire in gratiam cum populo R. satisfacere exteris nationibus posset: depeculatorem ærarii; vexatorem Asiæ atque Pamphiliæ; prædonem juris urbani; labem atque perniciem provinciæ Siciliæ; de quo, si vos severe, religioseque judicaveritis, auctoritas ea, quæ in vobis remanere debet, hærebit. Sin istius ingentes divitiæ judiciorum religionem, veritatemque perfregerint, Ego hoc tamen assequar, ut judicium potius reip. quam ut reus judicibus, aut accusator reo defuisse videatur. CIC.



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TO THE

PEOPLE

OF

ENGLAND.

Friends, Countrymen and Fellow-Subjects.

THE *Craftſman* being now to to make his Appearance in Volumes, He hath choſen to addreſs Himſelf to you, in your collective Body, as his moſt proper Patrons. He thinks it would be a ſort of Derogation from that publick Cauſe, in which He hath been ſo long engaged, if He ſhould offer his Incenſe at the Shrine of any ſingle Man, or particu-

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lar Body of Men, however great They may be, either by their own real Merit, or the adventitious Circumſtances of Wealth and Power. In your Cauſe was this Work firſt undertaken; by your Encouragement hath it been continued for above four Years with great Succeſs; and I hope the ſame general Patronage will not be wanting to it, now it is laid in Form at your Feet.

Though theſe Papers have been ſufficiently juſtify'd by the Reception, which They have met with from the World, and by thoſe Defences, which particular Occaſions have extorted from us; yet it will not be improper to prefix a few general Remarks on the *Deſign* and *Conduct* of them, in anſwer to ſome Objections, which We have not had Leiſure or Opportunity to conſider before, without breaking in upon more important Enquiries.

The *Craftſman* made his firſt Appearance in Publick on the 5th of *December* 1726, about a Year and a half after the Treaty of *Hanover* was ſigned, and when the Effects of it began to diſcover Themſelves. We apprehended, and our Apprehenſions have proved too juſt, that the cloſe Conjunction, which *this Treaty* cemented between *Great-Britain* and *France*,

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in Oppoſition to the *Emperor* and *Spain*, would be attended with bad Conſequences. From a State of perfect Tranquility at home, and * *Peace with all Powers abroad*, We found our ſelves, all on a ſudden, negotiated into a State of Difficulty, Danger and Confuſion, without being able to diſcover how the Intereſts of *Great-Britain* were concern'd in the Squabble. We ſaw our Trade interrupted with Impunity by the *Spaniards*, not only in the *Weſt-Indies* but in *Europe*, though We had a large Squadron of Ships, at that Time, in both thoſe Parts of the World. *Gibraltar* was ſoon after beſieged, without receiving any Aſſiſtance from our *new Allies* in the Defence of it. *Santa Lucia* was ſettled; the Harbour of *Dunkirk* was open'd by the *French*, in Violation of the moſt ſolemn Engagements. Almoſt all the Powers of *Europe* begun either to inſult, or to prey upon us; and our *Affairs abroad* have continued ever ſince in a very unſettled, I might ſay a diſtreſs'd, Condition, notwithſtanding that Multiplicity of Negotiations, Expeditions, Projects, Expedients and Treaties, which the Interval of a few Years hath produced.

* See *his late Majeſty's Speech in the Year* 1724.

Our *domeſtick Affairs* kept an even Pace with our *Affairs abroad*. To carry on theſe Negotiations, to ſupport theſe Engagements, and to extricate our ſelves out of the Difficulties, in which We were thus unaccountably involv'd, it was thought neceſſary to raiſe great Sums of Money upon the People at a Time, when They were the leaſt able to bear, and had the leaſt Reaſon to expect, any extraordinary Burthens. What added to our Apprehenſions, and aggravated our Calamity, were the Methods made uſe of to facilitate theſe Deſigns, and the Doctrines advanc'd by ſome *Court Writers*, to impoſe on the People, by endeavouring to perſuade them that They were in a flouriſhing Condition, in the midſt of Poverty.

We thought This a proper Seaſon to riſe up in Defence of our national Intereſts and to animate our Countrymen with a becoming Zeal on ſuch a melancholy Occaſion. The *Supineneſs* and *Indolence*, which We obſerv'd to reign amongſt a great Part of them, added Spurs to our Deſign, and quicken'd us in the Proſecution of it. We judg'd it neceſſary to awaken them from that *Lethargy*, which They had ſuffer'd to creep upon them, and to revive that *antient Spirit*, which is the

the *Palladium* of our Conſtitution. — But This hath been ſo fully explain'd by Mr. *Oldcaſtle*, through a long Courſe of Diſſertations, and particularly in his laſt Letter to me, that it is unneceſſary to inſiſt upon it any farther.

As the Situation of our Affairs, both at home and abroad, juſtify'd the *Deſign* of this Undertaking; ſo We apprehend that our *Manner* of conducting it is equally juſtifiable. The general Principles of *Liberty* have been the Foundation of all our Arguments, and the Intereſt of *Great-Britain* the ſole Object of them. We have conſtantly proportion'd our Zeal to the Nature of the Occaſion, and ſteadily purſued the great End, which We propos'd to our ſelves at firſt, without turning either to the right Hand, or to the left. We have neither ſuffer'd our ſelves to be aw'd by Menaces; intimidated by frequent and expenſive Proſecutions; nor ſoften'd by Applications of another Kind. We have ſpared no Pains; We have ſtarted at no Difficulties, and avoided no Dangers, with which the Proſecution of this Work hath been attended. As We were conſcious of the Juſtice of our Cauſe, We depended on the Integrity of our *Countrymen*, who are the only legal Judges of it. We were

 not

not deceived in this Expectation. They acquitted us with Honour in the Face of a full Court; and to their Deciſion We ſhall always chearfully ſubmit the Merits of our Cauſe. In ſhort, We have not only been faithful Servants to the Publick, but even Drudges in their Service, if any Thing could be eſteemed Drudgery in the Service of our Country.

In Purſuance of this general Deſign, We have very cautiouſly avoided, as ſuch a Deſign required, to give Offence to any *Party*, or to confine our ſelves to the narrow Views of any *Party*; though We have always paſs'd under the Denomination of *Whigs*, and argued upon the Principles, which *that Party* hath formerly attributed to Themſelves; but We have lately ſeen thoſe noble Principles ſo ſcandalouſly proſtituted by *ſome Perſons*, who are pleas'd to call Themſelves *Whigs*, and ſo ſtrenuouſly aſſerted by *many others*, who have been reputed *Tories*, that We are aſhamed to value our ſelves upon ſuch an idle Diſtinction of *Names* any longer. We have, on the contrary, us'd our utmoſt Endeavours, through the whole Courſe of theſe Papers, to baniſh theſe ſenſeleſs and fatal Animoſities; to reconcile *all Parties* to one another; to unite them in their com-

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mon Intereſt; the Intereſt and Cauſe of their Country; and to perſuade Men, who are equally zealous in the Purſuit of the ſame End, though perhaps by different Means, not to defeat it by unreaſonable Jealouſies and reproachful Imputations.

Nothing gave us a more ſenſible Pleaſure, upon his preſent Majeſty's Acceſſion to the Throne, than the Proſpect it open'd to us of ſuch an happy Coalition. People of *all Parties*, even almoſt without Exceception, concurr'd in a general Joy and diſcover'd a manifeſt Inclination to lay aſide their private Animoſities, for the publick Good, and unite their Endeavours to make his Majeſty's Reign eaſy, proſperous and glorious to Him. If this favourable Opportunity was either neglected, or not improved, let it be imputed to Thoſe, whoſe Intereſt depended, as it had been originally form'd, on a Spirit of *Faction* and *Diviſion*. We took Notice, at that Time, that there were *ſome ſuch Men*, and expreſs'd our Apprehenſions of the Conſequences, if They ſhould happen to prevail in their Attempts—God knows, They have prevail'd too far, and what We foretold is already too much verify'd!

We have preſerv'd the ſame Impartiality, in theſe Papers, with Regard to the

Clergy

Clergy and the *Laity*, conſider'd as diſtinct Bodies of the State. Though We have never deviated from our great Deſign, the Cauſe of *civil Liberty*, yet We have no where endeavour'd to deprive the *Clergy* of any of their juſt Rights and Immunities, which are conſiſtent with it, and have been often exerted in its Defence. We look upon them, indeed, only as a Part of the *Body politick*, and therefore They ought to have no Powers independent of the ſupreme Power of the State; but as a Part, or as Members of the *Common-Wealth*, They have a Right to *civil Liberty*, as well as the *Laity*, and *their Privileges* are included in it, as well as *ours*. Upon theſe Principles We have proceeded, and all our Arguments, in Defence of *Liberty*, extend in general to all Orders and Degrees of our Fellow-Subjects. As We have not ſupported the ridiculous Pretenſions of ſome of the *Clergy*, nor endeavour'd to exalt *eccleſiaſtical Power* above *civil Liberty*; ſo We have ſcorn'd to make a falſe, pretended Concern for *their Rights* a ſtalking-Horſe to our *own Deſigns*; or privately to ſet Projects on Foot, which are calculated to alarm them, on Purpoſe to take the Merit of defeating them to our ſelves. ——Such mean and infamous Policy is

worthy

worthy only of *thoſe Men*, who have neither Honeſty nor Underſtanding enough to recommend Themſelves to any Part of their Fellow-Subjects by upright Proceedings and real Services.

We have made the ſame Principles of Moderation the Rule of our Conduct in what We have had Occaſion to ſay concerning the *Church of England* and our *Proteſtant Diſſenters*. As Members of the *eſtabliſh'd Church*, in particular, We ſhall always endeavour to ſupport it in its juſt Rights. As Members of the *reform'd Church*, in general, We ſhall never wiſh to ſee any Hardſhips laid on our *Proteſtant Brethren*, who cannot comply with the Terms of our Communion. We think the Conſciences of Men ought not to be forced, nor any Reſtraints laid upon religious Opinions, which have no Tendency to diſturb the Peace and good Order of the State. For this Reaſon, We have never attempted to play the *Church* againſt the *Diſſenters*, or the *Diſſenters* againſt the *Church*, as ſome *other Perſons* have done, in order to ſerve a preſent Occaſion; but have uniformly contended for the preſent Eſtabliſhment of the *one*, and for the Continuance of thoſe Indulgences, to which the

the *others* are equally intitled by *Law*, as well as *Equity*.

I will mention but one Inſtance more of our Impartiality; and That ſhall be with Relation to *Commerce*. I am ſure it cannot be deny'd, and I think it cannot be forgotten, with what uncommon Zeal We have appear'd, on many Occaſions, in Behalf of *Trade* againſt its *foreign* and *domeſtick Enemies*; againſt the Depredations of the *Spaniards*; the Incroachments of the *French*; and the Reſtraints of ſome *home-bred Monopolies*. When We undertook this Cauſe, We meant the Cauſe of *Trade* in general; the Trade of *Britiſh* Subjects in all Parts of the World, in Oppoſition to *other Nations*; or, which We think almoſt as bad, the clandeſtine Practices of *excluſive Corporations*. Theſe Points are obvious to the Underſtanding of every Man, who hath made the leaſt Reflections on the Nature of *Trade*, and the Foundation of the *Britiſh* Grandeur. We are ſorry to ſee our Fellow-Subjects, who have the ſame general Intereſt in *Commerce*, divided as to ſome particular Branches of it. The Diſpute is intricate and muſt be diſagreeable to any Writer, who wiſhes well to Them all. Let *mercantile Perſons*, who are the beſt Judges of ſuch Affairs, debate and decide

decide them. They do not properly belong to us. It is upon this Account that We have declined entering into the late Controverſies between *England* and *Ireland*, and between our *ſouthern* and *northern Colonies*; though We cannot forbear offering our Opinion, in general, that We ought to give the Kingdom of *Ireland* all the Encouragement, which is conſiſtent with the Intereſt of *Great-Britain*; and that, as to our *American Colonies*, Thoſe of them deſerve the moſt Indulgence, which are of the greateſt Advantage to their *Mother-Country*, for whoſe Service They were firſt ſettled and have been ſupported.

In a Word, as the *national Intereſt*, in its moſt important Points, was the End propos'd by *theſe Writings*, We have taken all poſſible Care not to give Offence to any diſtinct Bodies of Men, or even to any particular Men; except *Thoſe*, who have long given great and grievous Offence to their Country, by a conſtant Oppoſition to that *publick Cauſe*, which We have eſpous'd.

We have been, indeed, unwillingly drawn into ſome *perſonal Altercations*, and Diſputes about *Points*, not immediately to the Purpoſe of our *general Deſign*. We ſay

ſay unwillingly; becauſe We were forced into them by repeated Provocations and the moſt unwarrantable, groundleſs Abuſes of Thoſe, who were employ'd againſt us in that Service. It hath been acknowledg'd by *theſe Writers* Themſelves, upon particular Occaſions, and to ſerve particular Turns, that our *Manner* of writing at firſt was very different from That, which We have follow'd ſince; that *at firſt* We obſerv'd a *Decency*, at leaſt, and confin'd our ſelves to *general Heads*; but that We took a greater Freedom by Degrees, as We found the Minds of our Readers prepared for it, and pointed our Cannon at *particular Men* with little, or no Diſguiſe. If This was the Caſe, why was ſuch an Alarm immediately taken, whilſt We confin'd our ſelves within *theſe Bounds?* Why were We charg'd with *Fallacy*, as We have often been, by throwing out dark Inſinuations, under *general Topicks*, and defy'd to enter into *Particulars?* And yet This was the Caſe. We had not publiſh'd above five, or ſix Papers, before the Alarm was taken, and a whole *Herd of Scribblers* appear'd againſt us, who threw about their Scandal at random, and mark'd out *particular Gentlemen*, as the Authors of theſe Papers, in

the

the moſt licentious Manner. This *perſonal Attack upon Characters* demanded ſome Notice from us, and juſtified any Reprizals; but ſince We are upon the Subject of *Perſonalities*, it will not be improper to make a *Diſtinction*, in this Caſe, which We apprehend to be neither ſophiſtical, nor ill-grounded.

Thoſe, who think it neceſſary to write againſt the Meaſures of an Adminiſtration, (which is one of the moſt valuable Branches of our *Liberty*) muſt expoſe *Him*, who is the Author of *thoſe Meaſures*; and any Attack of this Sort, though it is confin'd to *Facts*, may be call'd a *perſonal Attack* upon his Character; but it is an Attack on his *publick Character*, as a *Miniſter*, not on his Character as a *private Man*. Here then is a rational, well-grounded Diſtinction; a Diſtinction, which ariſes from a manifeſt Difference in the Caſe. We are ready to acknowledge that We began Hoſtilities in *this Senſe*. We thought it neceſſary to oppoſe *ſome Meaſures*, which were then purſued, and *Thoſe*, who were carrying them on, might eſteem This a *perſonal Attack*; but it was an Attack on their *publick Characters*; and if We now and then dropt a little curſory Alluſion to ſome particular Circumſtances,

which had no Relation to their *miniſterial Capacity*, it was *deſcriptive* only; and contain'd no Reflection on their *moral Characters*, as private Men. Did We ever attempt to break into the Affairs of their *Families*, or to render any Part of their *domeſtick Life* uneaſy to them? Did We ever reproach them with being *bad Husbands*, or *bad Fathers*; much leſs, did We ever make the Frailties, Infirmities, or Misfortunes of Thoſe, who ſtand in the neareſt Relation to them, the Subject of our Invectives, or Ridicule? Have We fill'd up any of our Papers with private Scandal, idle Stories, and the cenſorious Tittle-Tattle of the Town? No; We have always ſcorn'd to make uſe of ſuch Ribaldry in a Diſpute about the Conduct of *political Affairs*; or to bring it as a Charge againſt Thoſe, whom We oppoſe on another Account. We have, on the contrary, ſuppreſs'd every Thing, of that Nature, which hath come to our Hands; and even been ſo tender, in this Point, as to caſtrate ſeveral Paſſages in Authors, which We have had occaſion to quote, that We might not give our Enemies an Opportunity of imputing ſuch an ungenerous Deſign to us.——But what hath been the Conduct on the *other Side*? Inſtead of

juſt

juſt Recriminations of a *publick Nature*, founded on *Facts* and *Argument*, We had nothing return'd but *private Scandal* and *Billingſgate Scurrility*, without any Regard to *Truth*, *Honour*, or *Decency*.—— It is needleſs to revive the Particulars of this unmanly Outrage, ſince the Publick, which was a Witneſs to it, reſented it with ſuitable Indignation.

If We have ſince taken a greater Liberty with *one Gentleman*, in particular, and open'd ſome Scenes of his *private Conduct*, in which *Himſelf only* was concern'd; He muſt impute it to thoſe *fooliſh* and *injudicious Calumnies*, which He hath encouraged and propagated through the Nation, at the *publick Expence*.

But ſuppoſing, for Argument ſake, that there hath been too much *perſonal Altercation*, on both Sides; what is This to the Purpoſe; or how does it affect the main Point in Diſpute? This is too commonly the Caſe, in Controverſies of all Kinds, and is particularly encouraged by Thoſe, againſt whom the *Enquiry* lies. They are always glad to divert the Attention of the Reader from the Merits of the Cauſe, by provoking their *Adverſaries* into any Controverſy, that is *foreign* to it. The main Point in Diſpute between *us* and our *Ad-*

verſaries is whether our Affairs have not been, for ſome Years paſt, in a very unhappy Situation, and to whom that Situation hath been owing. We muſt therefore leave it to the Publick, to whom We addreſs our ſelves, whether We have not had a manifeſt Advantage of them in this Point.

It hath been allow'd by the Writers, on the *other Side*, in the Courſe of this Debate, that We have a Right to oppoſe *Miniſters*, when We think They purſue *wrong Meaſures*; and that a *vigorous Oppoſition* to Them is often attended with good Conſequences to the Publick, from whatever Motives it may proceed. They have been oblig'd to own that *Miniſters* ought to have ſome Checks upon them, beſides the Controul of the *Prince*, whoſe high Station renders Him liable to Deception in many Caſes; and that even *bad Men*, who ſee Themſelves narrowly watch'd, will not venture upon many Things, which their Ambition, Avarice, or Paſſions might otherwiſe prompt Them to undertake. The Dread of *Puniſhment* may prevail over the Wantonneſs of *Power*, and the Defects of a *publick Spirit* be, in ſome Meaſure, ſupply'd by a Regard to *private Intereſt*.

Thus

Thus far then is the general Deſign of *ſuch an Undertaking* juſtify'd; and We think that the particular Circumſtances of our Affairs, whilſt We have been carrying it on, is a farther Juſtification of it.

Though We have not ſucceeded ſo far as We had great Reaſon to wiſh, and ſome Reaſon to expect; yet I think We may venture to affirm, without any Imputation of Vanity, that our Writings have not been altogether without Effect. We flatter our ſelves that We have prevented the Execution of *ſome Deſigns*, which would have been very prejudicial to this Nation; and that We have promoted the Execution of *others*, which may prove of the greateſt Advantage to it. Some Acknowledgments of this Kind, with Relation to *foreign Affairs*, have been lately dropt, not very diſcreetly, by a *Gentleman*, who hath taken the moſt extraordinary Pains to obſtruct our Succeſs, and even to ſuppreſs our Writings; and I could mention ſeveral Inſtances, of a *domeſtick Nature*, in which We have great Reaſon to believe that the Publick hath found a Benefit from theſe Papers.

What We have already obſerv'd, in *ſeveral Papers*, occaſion'd by the late *Treaty of Vienna*, hath anticipated many Things,

which We propoſed to have ſaid, in this Place, concerning our Remarks on the *Negotiations* of ſome Years paſt. We ſhall therefore be very ſhort upon that Head.

It cannot be expected that Perſons, who have their Intelligence at *ſecond Hand*, and often modell'd to ſerve *private Views*, ſhould be infallible in their Accounts of *political Affairs*, or in their Conjectures upon the Conſequences of them. In Caſes, of this Nature, every Man hath a Right to deliver his Opinion, for the Good of the Publick, and is not blameable, if it ſhould happen to prove erroneous. The Deſign of theſe Enquiries is to come at the Truth, by hearing all Sides, and to purſue *thoſe Meaſures*, which appear, upon ſuch an Examination, to be moſt for the Intereſt of the Publick. If We have any *Liberty of Writing*, upon theſe Affairs, This muſt be the Deſign of it; becauſe it is the only valuable End, which *ſuch a Liberty* can poſſibly ſerve; and if This is the Deſign, no Man ought to be puniſh'd, or harraſs'd, for any involuntary and unavoidable Errors, which He may commit, in the Exerciſe of this *uſeful Privilege*.

But I muſt obſerve that it hath wonderfully happen'd, for the Misfortune of the Nation, that our Remarks on the *Negotiations*,

tiations, of five or ſix Years paſt, have been minutely verify'd, in almoſt every Article. Thoſe, who will take the Trouble of reviewing what We have ſaid, in the Courſe of theſe Papers, concerning the *Treaty of Hanover*, the *Præliminaries to the Congreſs of Soiſſons*, the *Treaty explanatory of the Præliminaries*, the *Convention of the Pardo*, and the *Treaty of Seville*, in Oppoſition to the Reaſonings and confident Aſſertions of our *Adverſaries*, will find us ſo prophetical, in almoſt every Particular, that I don't know whether They will not begin to think that there was ſome Foundation for the Charge againſt us; *that We have been admitted into the Cabinets of all the Princes of* Europe.

If the Reader will pleaſe to deſcend into the Particulars of *theſe Treaties*, with Relation to *Gibraltar*, *Dunkirk*, *Santa Lucia*, *Don Carlos*, the State of *Trade*, and the Caſe of our *plunder'd Merchants*; He will find our Apprehenſions too fully juſtify'd by the *Effects* of them; and We heartily wiſh that thoſe *few Remarks*, which We have already made on the late *Treaty of Vienna* may not prove equally *prophetical*; but as there is a *Proſecution* now depending againſt us, upon that Account, We ſhall only obſerve, in general, that what

what We foretold is already fulfill'd, in ſome Meaſure, by the *Event*, and even confirm'd by an AUTHORITY, which We think a ſufficient Juſtification of us.—— What We have farther to ſay, in our Defence, muſt be reſerv'd for *another Place*.

Our Obſervations on *domeſtick Affairs*, *Occurrences* and *Tranſactions*, will appear calculated for the ſame End; the Intereſt and Honour of our Country. The *Britiſh Conſtitution* of Government hath never been out of our Sight; and We have ſpared no Pains to inculcate the Neceſſity of watching over it, in order to preſerve it. Our Loyalty to the *Prince* hath born an equal Proportion to our Zeal for the Liberties of the *People*; and as their Intereſts are inſeparable, We have treated Thoſe, who attempt to divide Them, as the worſt Enemies to the *preſent Eſtabliſhment*. We have trac'd *Corruption* through all its dark lurking Holes, and ſet its Deformity in a true Light. We have pleaded the Cauſe of *publick Virtue*, againſt the Miſrepreſentations of Thoſe, who have endeavour'd to bring it into Contempt. The Reduction of our *Expences*, the Liquidation of our *Debts*, and the Diminution of our *Taxes*, have been the repeated Subjects of theſe Papers. In ſhort, ſcarce

any

any Point hath eſcaped our Notice, which tends to make us a great, happy and flouriſhing People.

Having taken this general View of the *Deſign* and *Conduct* of our Undertaking, it is neceſſary that I ſhould ſay ſomething of *Thoſe*, who have been engaged in it.

As for *my ſelf*, the Editor of theſe Papers, I was not vain enough to propoſe carrying on ſuch a *general Undertaking* without Aſſiſtance; and therefore, in my firſt Paper, I requeſted the Correſpondence of all Perſons, who approved of it. I flatter'd my ſelf, from what I had obſerv'd in the World, that there were many Perſons, who would contribute to *ſuch a Deſign*, when They ſaw it once ſet on Foot with Vigour and Reſolution. My Succeſs hath infinitely exceeded the moſt ſanguine of my Expectations. Aſſiſtance was immediately crouded in upon me from all Parts, and hath been continued, without Intermiſſion, during the whole Courſe of theſe Papers. I have often had little elſe to do than to prepare the Letters of my Correſpondents for the Preſs, with ſuch Caſtrations, Additions and Alterations, as I thought proper; a Liberty, which every Man of Senſe muſt know to be neceſſary

in ſuch a Work, and therefore it requires no Apology.

It cannot be expected that I ſhould give the Reader any particular Account of *theſe Gentlemen*. Moſt of them have choſen to continue in the Dark, as it is uſual upon ſuch Occaſions; and I have never had the leaſt Curioſity to diſcover them. Favours, of this Kind, are like the Gifts of *Fairies*, or the *private Charities* of ſome well-diſpos'd Perſons. If We endeavour to find out our *Benefactor*, We run the Hazard of loſing his *Benefactions* for the future.

But ſince *ſome Perſons* have pretended not only to gueſs at the *Authors* of theſe Papers, in general, but even poſitively to aſcribe ſome *particular Papers* to *particular Gentlemen*, with ſolemn Aſſeverations of the Truth, upon their own Knowledge, and have employ'd their *Hirelings* to abuſe *theſe Gentlemen*, upon that Account; I think it neceſſary to aſſure the Publick that, as far as I know any Thing of the Matter, They have been commonly miſtaken; hardly ever in the Right; and if it was thought proper to affix the Name of the Author to every Paper, it would convince the World that *thoſe Perſons* have no more Regard to *Veracity*, than They have Senſe of *Shame*.

As

As theſe *auxiliary Contributions* (which make the moſt conſiderable and ſhining Figure, in the following Volumes) were manifeſtly intended for the *publick Service*; it would be Inſolence in *Me* to take the Obligation to my ſelf; or to make any other Acknowledgments to the *Authors* of them, than for the Honour They have done me, in thinking me a proper Perſon to communicate them to the World.

All I can ſay, in my own Behalf, is, that as I am very gratefully ſenſible of this Honour; ſo I have endeavour'd to put *their Writings* in the moſt advantageous Light, and ſpared no Pains to publiſh them with that Correctneſs, which They deſerve.

Having made this Acknowledgment to the World, I may take the Liberty to give my Opinion, without any Arrogancy or Self-Commendation, that no Work, of this Nature, was ever carried on, for ſo long a Time, with more Variety of uſeful Inſtruction and agreeable Entertainment. It is not only ſupported with *ſolid Argument*, and illuſtrated with a Multitude of *Authorities* and *Examples* from the beſt Authors, antient and modern; but it is likewiſe ſeaſon'd with *Humour*, enliven'd with *Wit*, and diverſify'd with all the Embelliſh-

belliſhments, which ſuch a Work is capable of receiving. *Mere Politicks* are too hard for popular Digeſtion. It is therefore neceſſary for us to make uſe of the moſt agreeable Vehicles to convey our Medicines, and to make them as palatable as poſſible to our Readers. —— Theſe are the only Arts in our Power. *Thoſe*, who oppoſe us, have many others, of a more prevailing Nature.

I do not in the leaſt doubt that the *Scribblers againſt us* will make it their Buſineſs, as ſoon as theſe Volumes are publiſh'd, to pick out ſome Paſſages, which may ſeem to contradict one another, and endeavour to make us inconſiſtent with our ſelves. Perhaps, there may be ſome little Inconſiſtencies, of this Nature; and, conſidering the Diſtance of Time, and the Difference of Circumſtances, in which *theſe Papers* were written, as well as the great Variety of Hands, from whom They came, it would be almoſt miraculous if there ſhould not; but, I believe, We may defy them to produce a ſingle Paſſage, or a ſingle Argument, which does not promote, or is evidently calculated to promote, the general Cauſe of *Liberty*. Sure I am, that We may defy them to point out any ſuch glaring

glaring Contradictions, as abound in *their* crude Productions.

If there is any Part of this Work, for which We ought more particularly to ask Pardon of our Readers, it is the Notice, which We have ſo frequently taken of *theſe Writers*; but We have This to ſay in our Excuſe; that We have never enter'd into any Conroverſy with them, but when They have given us an Opportunity, by ſome ſilly Conceſſion, of examining ſome Points of great Conſequence, with more Freedom than We could otherwiſe have done; or in order to clear up others, by taking off all Objections to our Arguments. Such are the *Liberty of the Preſs*, and the Subject of *Liberty and Faction*; two Points, which are more fully diſcuſs'd in theſe Papers, than They ever were before by any Author whatſoever. We have not confin'd our ſelves to florid Declamations on *theſe Subjects*; but have given them a thorough Examination in all their Branches, and againſt all the Objections, which have been brought againſt them.

The *Independency of Parliament* is another Subject, of this Kind, which hath been already pretty largely conſider'd, and ſhall be farther purſued, in Anſwer to a *late infamous Poſition*, which hath been advanc'd

and juſtify'd in Print. We ſhould have taken Notice of this *pernicious Doctrine* much ſooner, had We not been engaged on *another Subject*; but the Reader may very ſoon expect to ſee our Thoughts upon it.

I ſhall conclude with aſſuring my *Countrymen* that I am determin'd to proſecute this Undertaking, with the ſame Reſolution of Mind and Inflexibility of Conduct, as long as the original Motives to it continue, (if God ſpares my Life ſo long) or as long as We are able to ſupport our ſelves againſt that Weight of Power, which hath been ſo induſtriouſly employ'd to cruſh us.

I am, GENTLEMEN,

Your affectionate Fellow-Subject,

and moſt devoted Servant,

Gray's-Inn, May 22, 1733.

Cal. D'Anvers.

THE

THE BOOKSELLER TO THE READER.

I Is neceſſary that I ſhould ſay a Word or two, by way of Apology for this Edition of the Craftſman.

There hath been, for a Year or two paſt, a very great Demand for a compleat Collection of theſe Papers; but having already publiſh'd two Volumes of them, at different Times, in Octavo, *We were under a Difficulty, which We could not eaſily ſurmount; for We could not continue them in that Size, without a* Subſcription; *becauſe We did not know what Number to print, as nobody would buy the*

five laſt Volumes *without the* two former *The Difficulty would have been the ſame, if We had printed all* de novo *in that Size; for thoſe Gentlemen, who had the two firſt* Volumes, *would think it very hard to be put to the Expence of the* whole Set, *and We could not poſſibly tell how to proportion the Numbers of each to the Demand.*

Beſides, as this Work is already become very voluminous, and is deſign'd to be continued, an Edition in Octavo *would prove very expenſive; which might confine it to fewer Hands, than the Method now taken.*

We hope therefore that thoſe Gentlemen, *who have been our Cuſtomers for the* former Volumes, *will not be diſpleas'd at this Edition, which makes thoſe Volumes uſeleſs, ſince They have the* whole Collection, *with compleat Indexes and graceful Ornaments to each Volume, at a cheaper Price than They could have had the* five additional Volumes *in the other Size.*

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Deſign of the Craftſman *being taken from the following* Letter, *We have thought proper to prefix it, by Way of Explanation to the* firſt Paper.

THE

THE COUNTRY GENTLEMAN,

Sed hunc tales ſcientiæ Negotio, qualis Domini habere faſtidiunt. VIGIT.

Friday, July 15. 1726.

The following Epiſtle, being writ by a Perſon of a publick Spirit, needs no Apology for its being inſerted here.

SIR,

THO' of late your Speculations have been chiefly employ'd in publick Affairs, yet as you have undertaken to animadvert upon Abuſes of all Kinds, I muſt ſuggeſt one to your Conſideration, which is become general, and is juſtly complain'd of by every Body; I mean the great Inſolence, Cheats and Negligence of SERVANTS; who, inſtead of being a Conveniency, are now grown one of the greateſt Uneaſineſſes of Life. You will now give me Leave to illuſtrate the Grievance I complain of by an Inſtance, that happen'd, not very long ago, within my own Acquaintance.

One Mr. D'ANVERS, a Friend of mine, a Gentleman of known Worth and Merit, and of an eaſy Fortune, ſet up a Chariot, for the Conveniency of going to a little Place, which he had near the Town, and back again. As he ſtudied Uſe more than Show he

he beſpoke a good ſtrong plain Chariot, but upon Springs, as naturally loving his Eaſe. He hired a Coachman, nam'd Robin, who was mightily recommended to him; a pert forward Fellow, who knowing Mr. *D'Anvers*'s Averſion to Trouble, undertook to find him in Horſes; to keep his Chariot in conſtant good Repair; and all This at an eaſier Rate, than any other Body ſhould do it at. Mr. *D'Anvers*, pleas'd with the Fellow's fair Promiſes and, above all, with the Proſpect of little Trouble, readily agreed with him upon his own Terms.

Robin's firſt Care was to provide himſelf with a pair of *quiet Nags*, that ſhould neither kick, nor riſe, nor give him the leaſt Diſturbance in the Coach Box. Accordingly he got a Pair of dull Beaſts to his Mind, call'd *Surly* and *Ranter*; but as they had not Spirit enough to diſturb the *Coachman*, neither were they able enough to draw the *Coach*; for they ſtumbled and blunder'd every Step they took, notwithſtanding the Whip, with which *Robin* uſed pretty freely to keep them up.

Mr. *D'Anvers*, who found himſelf very uneaſy in a Chariot, that only mov'd by Starts and Jerks, us'd to pull the *String* pretty often, and ask *Robin*, what the Devil was the Matter. *Robin*, who could not well lay the Blame on *Horſes* of his own providing, told his *Maſter* the Roads were ſo bad, and full of Holes, that it was impoſſible to avoid thoſe Joſts; and that he defy'd any *Coachman* to drive, or any *Horſes* to draw better, in ſuch curſed Ways. This Excuſe paſs'd for ſome Time, till the Summer came, and the Roads grew better. Mr. *D'Anvers*, finding the Motion full as uneaſy as before, he began to pull the *String* much oftner, and to grow a little teſty. *Robin*, who found that ſome new Excuſe was neceſſary to pacify his *Maſter*, laid all the Blame upon *Ranter*, (who, by the way, was grown a little hard-mouth'd) and told his *Maſter*, that if he would let him change him for

a *Horſe*

a *Horſe* that he knew, call'd *Slover*, he would undertake to carry his Honour as eaſily as ever he was carry'd in his Life. Mr. *D'Anvers*, who already had ſuch ill Luck with Horſes of *Robin*'s providing, deſired that he might firſt ſee this *Slover*, before he was put to his Coach. *Slover* was accordingly prodd'd, to the great Surprize of Mr. *D'Anvers*; who, tho' not very nice in his Cattle, order'd him to be immediately taken away; ſaying that he never ſaw ſo filthy a Beaſt in his Life, and that he was not good enough for a Dray-cart. *Robin*, being thus diſappointed, had recourſe to another Stratagem, and told his *Maſter* that, to ſay the Truth, the Reaſon why he did not carry him ſo ſmoothly, as otherwiſe he ſhould do, was, that his Honour interrupted him ſo often, by pulling him every Minute: but if his Honour would conſent to have that *Check-ſtring* taken away, he would anſwer for it, all ſhould go right. This Requeſt, however unreaſonable it might ſeem, Mr. *D'Anvers*, from his natural Indulgence, granted; reſolving not to leave *Robin* the leaſt Excuſe. Accordingly, the *String* was taken away, which *Robin* wore in Triumph acroſs his Shoulders, and now ſat uncontroul'd in the Coach-Box. The next Time Mr. *D'Anvers* went to his Country-Houſe, *Robin* reſolv'd to leave the beaten Road, and go a new Way over the People's Grounds; when unfortunately he happen'd to be attack'd by the People, whoſe Fences he broke down. *Robin* whip'd and ſwore; the *Horſes* ſtumbled, and *Robin* flung'd. The Country People, with their Clubs, Paid on both *Robin* and the *Horſes*. The *Chariot* was overturn'd in a Ditch. The *Tackle* was broke. The *Horſes* run away; and *Robin* broke his Neck with the Fall. Mr. *D'Anvers* was happily taken out of the Chariot, without being hurt, and as ſoon as known was treated with the Reſpect and Regard, that was due to his Rank and Virtues; every one expreſſing their Indignation at the Abuſe of ſo *good a Maſter*;

but

but rejoycing, at the ſame Time, at the deſerv'd Ca-
taſtrophe of ſo *bad a Servant.*

I am, SIR,

Your humble Servant,

WILL. JOHNSON

I have often heard this Story of Mr. *D'Avenant*; but not with all theſe Circumſtances, and have wonder'd, that the Laws are not made more ſtrict, in relation to *Servants*. The preſent Statutes, that are now in force, only relating to *Apprentices, Labourers*, or Servants of *Husbandry*, hired for a Year. Indeed, the Statute of 23 of *Hen.* 8. Chap. 7. makes it Felony for a *Servant to go away with his Maſter's Goods, to the Value of forty Shillings, with an Intent to ſteal, or embezil them; provided the Goods be deliver'd to him to keep*; and another modern Statute has been made to the ſame Purpoſe; but there are Millions of other Abuſes amongſt *Servants*, for which the Law has made no Proviſion, and becauſe they are ſo univerſal a Grievance, worthy the Attention of the Legiſlature.

THE CRAFTSMAN.

N° 1. *Monday, December* 5. 1726.

IT is uſually expected that Perſons, who preſume to inſtruct or entertain the Publick, ſhould give ſome Account of Themſelves, and of thoſe particular Endowments, which qualify them for ſuch an Undertaking. Tho' I am ſenſible of the Prejudices, which adhere to a known Author, and how perſonal Defects are apt to interfere with a publick Character; yet I think this Expectation ſo reaſonable in general, that I have determined to place my Name at the Head of this Paper, and deſign to acquaint the World with ſome of the moſt remarkable Particulars of my Life.

I am, by Birth, the ſecond Son of *Abraham D'Anvers*, Eſq; a Gentleman of an ancient Family, and no inconſiderable Eſtate in the North of *England*. I was born in that Year, which is become a remarkable Æra, on Account of the *Reſtauration* of our ancient

eſtabliſhed Government under King *Charles* II. and the auſpicious Birth of his preſent moſt excellent Majeſty. I received the firſt Rudiments of my Education, under the famous Dr. *Busby*, at *Weſtminſter* School; from whence I was tranſplanted to *Chriſt-Church* College in *Oxford*, where I continued between three and four Years; at the Expiration of which, I was entered of *Gray's-Inn*, and applied myſelf to the Study of the Law. When I was firſt called to the Bar, I attended very conſtantly in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and gained conſiderable Reputation in my Profeſſion; but my elder Brother dying ſoon after, by which I came into the Poſſeſſion of a competent Eſtate, and having before taken a Diſguſt to the Chicanry of that Buſineſs, and the prevailing Practice of the Courts, I reſolved to live a retired Life, and indulge my natural Inclination to the poliier Arts. I had, however, been ſo long accuſtomed to private Chambers, and a recluſe manner of Life, that I reſolved to continue in the ſame Method; which I have accordingly done ever ſince in *Gray's-Inn*, and was made a Bencher of that venerable Society near twenty Years ago.

As I quitted the long Robe very early, it gave me an Opportunity of furniſhing myſelf with ſome Degree of Knowledge in moſt Arts and Profeſſions. I have had Leiſure, for theſe many Years, to make my Obſervations on Men and Things; to amuſe myſelf with the Writings of ancient and modern Authors; to look into the Conſtitutions of the moſt flouriſhing States in all Ages, and particularly of our own; and have from Time to Time made my Remarks on the ſeveral Changes and Revolutions, which have happened, not only in the publick Tranſactions of Government, but alſo in the private Opinions of Mankind, and the Conduct of particular Parties; of all which the Reader will be fully apprized in the Courſe of my future Lucubrations.

What chiefly determined me, at this Time, to appear in ſuch a Manner, is the Uſage I have lately received

ceived from a *certain Writer*, who has thought fit to break into the private Concerns of my Family, and publickly expoſe me to the World, for my good Nature and Indulgence to one of my *Servants*; in which, perhaps, I am not altogether excuſable. I am, indeed, ſomewhat obliged to the Gentleman for the good Character, which he is pleaſed to give me, as to my natural Diſpoſition; but I think it very hard to ſee my private Weakneſſes, and the Infirmities of old Age ſet forth to the World in ſo glaring a manner; for tho' I am ready to allow, that the univerſal Complaints againſt *Servants* are too juſt; that their Corruptions are grown very enormous; and that I may, in particular, have contributed to this publick Evil, by too much Lenity to my *Coachman*, who, has not deſerved ſuch Tenderneſs at my Hands; yet ſome Allowances ought certainly to be made to a Man in Years; who being naturally fond of Eaſe, is willing to overlook a thouſand little Faults and Impertinences, rather than part with an *old Servant*, who was brought up in his Family from a Child; and for whom he has contracted a ſort of natural Affection.

But ſince the Caſe of my Man ROBIN has been made ſo publick, as to become the Subject of all Converſation; and my Conduct in that Affair has been much blamed, as ſetting a bad Example to *other Servants*; I will in a ſhort Time give the Publick an Account of that whole Affair, and of the Motives, which have hitherto induced me to proceed in this gentle Manner with ſo ungrateful and refractory a Servant. In the mean time, I muſt acquaint the World, that the Relation, which they have ſeen of this Affair, in a Letter ſigned *Will. Johnſon*, publiſhed in the *Country Gentleman*, is, in ſeveral Inſtances, falſe and erroneous; particularly at the Concluſion, where it is ſaid, that *Robin* at laſt fell from his Coach-Box, and broke his Neck; for I do hereby aſſure the Publick, that there was nothing in that Story, any farther than that he re-

ceived a little Shock one Night, by driving in the Dark, againſt another Gentleman's Coach; but however he might ſuffer in his Reputation as to *Coachmanſhip*, and forfeit the Character of a *ſkilful* and *ſober Driver*; yet he was ſo far from breaking his Neck, that he drove me but Yeſterday to *Hampſtead*; and I have been prevail'd on, by the ſtrong Intereceſſion of his Friends, and his own Promiſes of Amendment, to continue him in my Service this Winter; but if he does not immediately grow better, I am reſolved, notwithſtanding any Importunities whatſoever, to diſcard him entirely, and give him up to the ſtricteſt Severity of the Law.

I have likewiſe Reaſon to complain of the *Writer before-mentioned*, for repreſenting me, in that Paper, as a Perſon of an *indolent Temper*, if by that Phraſe he means one, who is unconcerned for the Welfare of his Fellow-ſubjects, and the Proſperity of his native Country. I hope a Man may be allowed to live quietly, and indulge the Serenity of his Mind in old Age, without drawing on himſelf the Imputation of being cold and ſpiritleſs; for certainly there is ſome Difference between being eaſy and *indolent*; between ſubmitting peaceably to ſeveral Things, which a private Man cannot help, and his being perfectly indifferent whether they were better managed, or not. However, the Charge againſt me is contained in ſuch general Terms, and I am ſo loth to truſt to the Candour of the World for their Conſtruction, that I chuſe to interrupt my deſirable Tranquility, and enter upon a Scene of Action in my declining Years, rather than lie under the leaſt Suſpicion of a *tame and vicious Indolence*.

As it is frequently obſerved, that thoſe Perſons *think moſt, who ſpeak leaſt*; ſo perhaps it will hold equally true, that They form the ſoundeſt Judgment of what paſſes in the World, who live moſt retired from the Buſtle of it. As to myſelf, however inconſiderable I may have been thought for the greateſt Part of my Life, I hope to convince the World that I am not ſo *indolent*

and

and careleſs a Spectator, as *this Author* is pleaſed to repreſent me; but, on the contrary, that I am as warmly affected with the Intereſt of my Country, as any Man in it; and look with equal Concern upon the manifold Vices and Corruptions; upon that general Proſtitution of Principles and Degeneracy of Manners, which have by degrees over-run the whole Kingdom, and put Virtue and Honeſty almoſt quite out of Countenance.

As for the Corruptions of *Servants*, I can look upon them in no other Light than as the natural Conſequences of the Corruptions of Thoſe in an higher Sphere. The Morals of the *Maſter* are generally exhibited to us in the Behaviour of his *Domeſticks*; for which Reaſon I think it ridiculous to endeavour at a Reformation of them, unleſs we begin with one amongſt our ſelves. The Effect cannot be removed, whilſt the Cauſe remains. *Let the Ax be laid to the Root of the Tree*, if you would effectually ſtop the Growth of this Evil; for it will avail but little to lop off a few ſuperfluous Branches and Excreſcencies, when the nobler and vital Parts are ſo dangerouſly affected.

It is for this Reaſon that I have entitled my Paper *The* CRAFTSMAN; under which general Character I deſign to lay open the Frauds, Abuſes, and ſecret Iniquities of all Profeſſions; not excepting thoſe of my own; which is at preſent notoriouſly adulterated with pernicious Mixtures of *Craft*, and ſeveral ſcandalous Proſtitutions. The ſame malignant Contagion has infected the other learned Faculties and polite Profeſſions. It has crept into the Camp as well as the Court; prevailed in the Church as well as in the State; has vitiated the Country in the ſame Manner that it has poiſoned the City, and work'd itſelf into every Part of our Conſtitution, from the higheſt Offices of Life, down to the loweſt Occupations, in a regular and gradual Deſcent.

It is my Deſign, in this Paper, to detect and animadvert upon all theſe Corruptions, as far as they come within my Knowledge; to ſhew how general the Evil

is grown, and how *Craft* predominates in all Profeſſions. But the Myſtery of *State-Craft* abounds with ſuch innumerable Frauds, Proſtitutions, and Enormities in all Shapes, and under all Diſguiſes, that it is an inexhauſtible Fund, an eternal Reſource for Satire and Reprehenſion; ſince from this grand Fountain of Corruption flow all thoſe little Streams and Rivulets, which have ſpread themſelves through every Part of this Kingdom, and debauched all Ranks and Orders of Men. It ſhall therefore be my chief Buſineſs to unravel the dark Secrets of *Political Craft*, and trace it through all its various Windings and intricate Receſſes. I am aware of the Difficulties of this Task, and of the Ridicule which it will draw upon me. I know the faſhionable Part of the World, which includes the Vain and Superficial, as well as the Self-intereſted and Corrupt, will call me a doting old Blockhead for making ſuch an Attempt; and impute my Remonſtrances againſt Vice to the Peeviſhneſs and Protervity of Age, which naturally inclines us to be out of Humour with the *preſent Times*, and to extol thoſe which are *paſt*; but as the ſober Part of Mankind will, I doubt not, judge otherwiſe of this Affair; and as I have been in a manner neceſſitated to this Undertaking, by the unkind Treatment of the *Letter-Writer* before-mentioned; ſo I have armed my Mind with ſufficient Reſolution to deſpiſe any Reproaches or perſonal Invectives, which may be thrown upon me, whilſt I am carrying it on.

As I am acknowledged by *this Author* himſelf to be a Gentleman of *great Worth* and *natural Probity*; and the Faults, with which he charges me, being, at the worſt, Faults on the *right Side*, the glorious Errors of too much *Lenity* and *good Nature*; ſo I hope the Reader is inclined to believe that I am not altogether unqualified for this Work; unleſs an honeſt Diſpoſition, join'd with a liberal Education, long Experience, and the Knowledge of Men, as well as of Books, can be ſuppoſed to be no Qualifications. But though I have all theſe

these Advantages on my side; yet I am not, like some old Men, so self-sufficient and opinionated of my own Abilities, as to imagine that I stand in need of no Assistance; but shall be very much obliged to any Gentlemen, who approve of this Design, and will favour me with their Correspondence. D

N° 2. *Friday, December* 9.

Rara temporum felicitas, ubi sentire quæ velis & quæ sentias dicere licet. Tacit.

THE *Liberty of Speaking*, or *publishing our Thoughts*, (which, since the Invention of Printing, has been usually call'd the *Liberty of the* PRESS) is a Thing very little understood, and but rarely enjoy'd; for tho' it is undeniably one of the greatest Blessings of a Free People, and justly valued as such by all Men of Sense, whose Practices have not made them afraid of it, or when it does not interfere with some particular Views; yet This is so frequently the Case, especially amongst *Great Men*, that, in most Arbitrary Governments, it lies under such Restraints and Discouragements as amount almost to a Prohibition; and, in too many free Countries, we meet only with the Shadow of this Privilege instead of the Substance.

By the *Liberty of the Press*, we are not to understand any licentious Freedom to revile our lawful Governors and Magistrates; to traduce the establish'd Laws and Religion of our Country; or any Attempts to weaken and subvert, by opprobrious Writings, that sacred Respect and Veneration, which ought always to be maintained

tained for Authority and Perſons in Authority. Neither ought the *Preſs* to be made an Engine to deſtroy the Reputation of our Neighbours; or to prejudice any private Subject, by inſulting his perſonal Frailties, Misfortunes, or Defects; or by expoſing the Secrets of his Family to publick Laughter and Ridicule; for as theſe are Things only of a private Nature, which do not affect the Publick, ſo the Publick has no Right to the Knowledge of them; and indeed the *Law* has provided ſuch wholſome Remedies againſt all theſe Enormities, both of *publick* and *private Scandal*, that I ſhould have had no Occaſion to make this Diſtinction between *Freedom* and *Licentiouſneſs*, if ſome Perſons had not confounded them together in their Arguments againſt the *Liberty of the Preſs*.

I ſhall therefore proceed, in a very conciſe Manner, to define what I mean by *this Liberty*, and wherein it truly conſiſts; as well as to ſhew what are its proper Objects, and when any Nation may be ſaid to poſſeſs this Bleſſing in its juſt and proper Extent.

By the *Liberty of the Preſs* I mean (as I ſuppoſe every Body elſe does) an unreſerved, diſcretionary Power for every Man to publiſh his Thoughts on any Subject, and in any Manner, *which is not forbidden by the Laws of the Land*, without being obliged to apply for a *Licence* or *Privilege* for ſo doing. In ſhort, where *this Liberty* prevails, every Author has a Right to print what he pleaſes, without asking any Body Leave; and without fearing any Moleſtation from Authority, ſo long as he keeps within his proper Bounds; which it is his Buſineſs to take care not to tranſgreſs. He knows the Laws of his Country; and if he raſhly offends againſt them, he muſt ſubmit to the *Penalty*.

For this Reaſon, in *England*, the *Preſs* is now ſaid to be *free*; which cannot be affirmed of it in *France* and other Arbitrary Governments; where no Man can publiſh his Opinions on any ſubject, without firſt ſubmitting them to the Examination of a certain Officer, who

who is authorized by the Government for that purpoſe, under the Title of *Licenſer of the Preſs*; a Power which ſtill prevails in our *Engliſh Univerſities*, and hath but lately ceaſed to prevail in the other Parts of the Kingdom.

Where ſuch a Power is exerciſed, the *Preſs* cannot be ſaid to be *free* or *open*; becauſe this *Officer* being appointed by the chief Magiſtrate, or his Miniſters, and continued only *during Pleaſure*, it cannot be ſuppoſed that he will grant his *Imprimatur* to any Book, Pamphlet, or Paper, which is written with a View to diſcredit their Proceedings, however unjuſt, or tends in any Manner to give them Offence.

We ought therefore to eſteem the Abolition of this *Office* as one of our greateſt Acquiſitions in the Cauſe of *Liberty*; and uſe our utmoſt Endeavours to prevent its being ever revived among us; for which purpoſe, we ſhould keep a conſtant Eye upon *thoſe Men*, who are ſuſpected to be no good Wiſhers to it, and look upon it as a certain ſign of a *bad Government*, when any Miniſter attempts to deſtroy the *Liberty of the Preſs*.

The next Point to be conſider'd is the Object of this *Liberty*; or on what ſubjects it is ſuppoſed to allow us to debate *freely*; and thoſe can be only GOVERNMENT and RELIGION; for, as the publick Welfare of every Nation depends entirely on theſe two great Articles, ſo they are the only Points on which any Tyrant or arbitrary Prince would deſire to reſtrain our Thoughts. We meet with no Inſtance, in Hiſtory, of any Nation, where the Subjects are prohibited from writing on Matters of Indifference and Speculation; or from venting the Productions of their idle Hours. The moſt ſlaviſh Nations, where any Degree of Learning prevails, abound, as much as ours, with Books of mere Entertainment and Diverſion; as we may obſerve in *France*, *Italy*, and *Spain*; where there is no Prohibition of Plays, Novels, Love-Letters, Travels and Romances; but this is no Proof of the *Liberty of the Preſs* in thoſe Coun-

Countries; nor would it be worth contending for here on ſuch Accounts. What renders it ſo valuable and deſirable amongſt us, is, that we have hereby an Opportunity of writing upon ſubjects of the utmoſt Importance; ſuch as nearly affect our Conſciences, our Liberties, and Eſtates.

I do not mean by This (as I have already obſerved, and would always be underſtood) a *Liberty* to undermine the Fundamentals of *Government* and *Religion*; or to calumniate Perſons in high Power; neither of which ought to be tolerated in any Society; but a *Liberty* of examining the Principles of our *Faith* by the Teſt of Scripture and Reaſon; of declaring our Judgment in all diſputable Matters; and of expoſing the Corruptions, Impoſitions, and ridiculous Claims of ſome Clergymen; a *Liberty* of giving our Opinion, in the ſame Manner, of all *political Tranſactions*; of debating the great Affairs of Peace and War; of freely delivering our Sentiments concerning any Laws, which are in Agitation; and of modeſtly offering our Reaſons for the Repeal of thoſe, which are found to be oppreſſive; a *Liberty* of ſetting forth Male-Adminiſtration, and pleading for the Redreſs of Grievances; of expoſing Miſmanagement and Corruption in high Places, and diſcovering the ſecret Deſigns of *wicked* and *ambitious Men*.

Herein conſiſts that valuable *Liberty* before deſcribed; which is the ſtrongeſt Barrier of all our other Liberties, both in *Church* and *State*; a *Liberty* which has contributed to ſo many *glorious* Tranſactions and extraordinary Events in all Ages; and will, I hope, ſtill contribute to a great many more, whenever there is a real Occaſion; a *Liberty*, which all wiſe and diſintereſted Men have contended for, in every Nation, and particularly in our own—But I ſhall treat of This in another Paper; and content myſelf, at preſent, with ſhewing when any People may be ſaid to poſſeſs this glorious Privilege in its juſt Latitude.

I

I have already taken Notice, that this *Liberty* is abſolutely inconſiſtent with the Office of a *Publick Licenſer*, eſtabliſh'd by Authority, and under the Direction of Men in Power. But neither is it always to be found even in thoſe Countries, where there is no ſuch *Officer*. Miſchievous Politicians are never at a Loſs to preſerve the *Appearance*, when they have a mind to aboliſh the *Thing*; a Leſſon that was firſt taught them by their great Maſter *Machiavel*; and which has been much practiſed, and wonderfully improved ſince his Time.

Thus, in ſome Countries, where the greateſt *Liberty of the Preſs* is ſuppoſed to be allowed, very little in reality will be found; for the Caſe, in effect, is juſt the ſame, whether their Superiors will not ſuffer them to publiſh any thing without their *Licenſe*; or whether they pretend to leave them at their full *Liberty*, and yet have always ſome Artifice in reſerve to puniſh them for uſing *this Liberty*; or whether they lay ſuch heavy *Duties* on the *Preſs*, as manifeſtly tend to prejudice and diſcourage the *Freedom of Writing*.

A young unexperienced Author, indeed, thinks it a great Happineſs that he lives in a Country, where he lies under no Reſtraints in the Publication of his Works, but the *Laws of the Land*; without conſidering that the *ſtrict Letter* of moſt Laws is often very different from the *Interpretation*, which is put upon them in ſome ſort of Proſecutions.

The Practice of *Libelling* is a Thing of ſuch pernicious Conſequence that there have been Laws made to puniſh it in all civilized Societies; which Laws ought to be put ſtrictly in Execution; but the Misfortune is, that the Nature and ſeveral Species of *Libels* are not aſcertain'd by any of theſe Laws; but are left to the Judgment and Diſcretion of the *Courts of Juſtice*; from whence it comes to paſs, that in bad Reigns, many *real Patriots* have been ſeverely puniſhed under the Character of *infamous Libellers*; ſome of whom have loſt their Ears, and others their Lives, for what

what in a good Reign, they ought to have their Statues erected in Braſs. A Perſon, who applies himſelf to writing, eſpecially upon *political Subjects*, ſhould never forget the Caſe of the great ALGERNOON SIDNEY; which is ſufficient to convince us that no Man is ſafe againſt the Subtilties and Fineſſes of *Lawyers* and *State-Chymiſts*; who can extract Poiſon out of the moſt innocent Things, and, by tortured Conſtructions, apply the Penalties of Statutes, where the Legiſlators never deſign'd them. There are *certain Adepts* in this Profeſſion, who can prove any Thing from any Thing, and maintain a Point to be Law, or not to be Law, juſt as the preſent Occaſion, at any Time, requires; upon which Account, They are conſtantly retain'd by *another ſet of Men*, who find them to be of great Advantage in the Conduct of their *political Schemes*.

We have ſeen, in ſome Reigns, *remote Allegories*, *ironical Expreſſions*, and the moſt *diſtant Innuendo's* explain'd, by ſuch Methods, to a Man's Deſtruction. We have ſeen Printers and Bookſellers menaced and intimidated with *arbitrary Seizures*, *illegal Confinements*, and *groundleſs*, *vexatious Proſecutions*. Nay, we have ſeen ſome great Men ſtoop ſo low, as to collogue with common *News-Writers* and *Journaliſts*, in order to obſtruct all Avenues to Truth, and induce them, by Bribes, to ſerve their corrupt Purpoſes with fictitious Intelligence and falſe Repreſentations.

From this negative State of the Queſtion, we may judge when the *Liberty of the Preſs* really ſubſiſts in any Nation; for where ſuch Methods are practiſed in any Degree, there can be no ſuch *Liberty*; ſince a Privilege, which is invaded and ſuperceded, in this manner, is no Privilege at all. It is indeed only the *Manes* of departed *Liberty*, which makes the Loſs of the *Subſtance* the more grievous to us, and is a melancholy Proof that *wicked Men in Authority* will ſtick at nothing to invalidate the juſt Rights and Privileges of

their

their Fellow ſubjects, when they ſtand in Competition with their *corrupt Deſigns*. *D.*

N° 3. *Monday, December* 12.

——*quod* Medicorum *eſt*,
Promittunt Medici. Hor.

THERE is a general Complaint of Abuſes and Corruptions in all Profeſſions; which is moſt frequently urged by thoſe Men themſelves, who are the chief Authors and Occaſions of them. If you employ the moſt infamous Tool of the Law, he will begin with exclaiming againſt *foul Practice*, and congratulate you on your good Fortune, which did not let you fall into the Hands of ſome *Pettifoggers* about Town. In like manner we never meet with the Terms *Mercenary Scribblers*, *Wretched Hackney-Writers*, *Scioliſts*, *Poetaſters* and ſo forth, any where ſo often as in the Works of thoſe miſerable Vermin themſelves. What is more common than to hear a *City Captain* inveigh againſt our late *military Promotions*? or to ſee the Learning, Integrity, and Merit of our reverend Prelates call'd in queſtion by *little factious Lecturers*, *Curates*, and *Sermon-Jobbers*?

But the Faculty of Phyſick abounds with Impoſtors, Cheats, and ignorant Pretenders more than any other Profeſſion whatſoever, if we may give Credit to the conſtant Declarations and Complaints of the *Practitioners* themſelves; in which Number I include not only Thoſe, who call themſelves regular Phyſicians, Surgeons, and Apothecaries; but likewiſe all Perſons, who make it their Buſineſs to preſerve Health, and repair human Conſtitutions, from *Roſemary-Lane* and *Hay-*

don-Yard in the *Minories*, to *Tom*'s Coffee-houſe in *Covent-Garden*, and from thence to the *King*'s *Aſs-houſe* in *Piccadilly*, with all their intermediate Stages and Diſpenſatories of Medicine; amongſt whom there are continual Claſhings, Revilings, and mutual Exprobations. They are for ever abuſing one another as *Quacks*, *Empericks*, and ignorant *Pretenders*; recommending their own Remedies to us as the only *original* and *truly prepared Specifick*s. At the ſame time they kindly forewarn us to beware of *Impoſtures*, trump'd up in Imitation of their approved Remedies; for which purpoſe they direct us very exactly to their Shops or Houſes, and ſeal their Preparations with their own Coats of Arms, *to prevent Counterfeits*.

I deſign, in ſome future Paper, to examine the Preſenſions of theſe nameleſs Artiſts, and to make a faithful Report to the Publick of their ſeveral Merits; to which end, I ſhall enquire into the true Nature of *Quackery*, and expoſe *Mala Praxis* to the World, without Favour, Prejudice, or Partiality, wherever I find it, from the great Leeches of State, down to the humble Aſtrological Phyſicians in *Barbican* and *Moorfields*. I ſhall take no Notice whether they are Graduates or not; Fellows of the College, or Licentiates only; whether they loll at Eaſe in ſpring Chariots, or plod the Streets in a Thread-bare Cloak; whether their Fee is a Guinea or a Shilling; whether they kindly invite you to their Houſes at certain Hours, or will hardly come to yours, if you ſend for them; whether they are favourite-Court-Opifers, Stage-Mountebanks, itinerant Horſe-Doctors, peripatetick Tooth-Drawers, Oculiſts, Corn-Cutters, or Barber-Surgeons; whether they are old Men or old Women; firſt-born or ſeventh-born Sons. I ſhall make no Diſtinction of Climates in this Enquiry, as whether they are *Engliſh*, *French*, or *High-German* Doctors; nor trouble my Head at what Univerſities they had their Education; or whether they had it at any, or not; whether they practiſe in pub-

lick

lick or private; whether they trumpet their own Cures in the News-papers, or cautiouſly murder in ſecret, and give the World no Account of the Havock, which they are daily making in this great Metropolis; — But as my only Deſign is to diſtinguiſh Merit and detect Impoſture, ſo I ſhall have no Regard to any Thing but Truth in this Examination.

If I find, upon Enquiry, that the famous Mr. *John Moore* has really perform'd ſuch Cures with his *Worm-Powder*, and other Medicines, as he aſſures us he has done; or if the Atteſters for Dr. *Bugg's* of *Coventry* prove to be Perſons of Reputation; I ſhall make no Scruple to give them the Preference to ſome greater Names, who owe their Succeſs to Flattery and Adulation, or to the Intereſt of particular Factions and Cabals.

I ſhall judge in the ſame impartial Manner of Seignior *Honorato Fornello's* never-failing Medicine for the *Gravel* and *Stone*, which he recommends to the World by publickly aſſuring us, that he is *no Phyſician*; a Declaration, which is ſomewhat equivocal, and ſeems very extraordinary in whatſoever Senſe it is to be underſtood. But tho' I am ſo candid in this Matter, and am reſolv'd to adjuſt the Merits of all Competitors, by the Cures which they perform; without conſidering their Education, Character, Circumſtances, or Profeſſions; yet I would adviſe this *Gentleman* (for ſo I think he calls himſelf) to drop theſe Words in his future Advertiſements, leſt they ſhould give ſome Umbrage to the *College*, as well as to numberleſs well-meaning Perſons in this Kingdom, who are firmly perſuaded that it is not abſolutely impoſſible for a *Phyſician* to underſtand his Buſineſs.

I thought it my Duty to give this ſeaſonable Caution to a *Foreigner* (as I ſuppoſe this *Gentleman* to be by his Name) that he might not, by his Ignorance of our Cuſtoms, draw a powerful Body of Men upon his Back, who might, perhaps, prejudice the Publick a-

gainſt what I am willing to believe a very uſeful and excellent Remedy.

But laying aſide all theſe Particulars for the preſent, I cannot help diſtinguiſhing, in this Paper, one of the greateſt *Arcana* in Phyſick, which either this or any Age has produced, being juſtly entitled,

Catholicon AUREUM *Baſilicum*: Or, *The Royal* GOLDEN *Specifick*,

" WHICH is ſo well known in all the Courts " of *Europe*, and ſo highly approved of by " the *Nobility* and *Gentry* of this Kingdom, for its " wonderful Virtues in all *Hypocondriacal* and *Hyſte-* " *rical* Diſtempers, that it is juſtly eſteemed the " *univerſal Medicine*; for it infallibly cures all De- " grees of the *Spleen*, *Vapours*, and *Melancholy*, be " they of never ſo long Duration, or from whatever " Cauſes they may proceed; whether from an ill " State of Health, Indigeſtion, and ſharp, bilious " Humours; or from a natural Gloomineſs and Sa- " turnine Diſpoſition of Mind; or laſtly, from Miſ- " fortunes in the World, occaſioned either by una- " voidable Accidents, or by Luxury, Profuſeneſs, and " Gaming; from all which, this ineſtimable Medi- " cine gives the Patient a ſafe and ſpeedy Relief, by " rectifying the Juices, purifying the Blood, and " ſtrengthning the Digeſtion; ſo that all black Thoughts, " direful Apprehenſions, and diſmal foreboding Fears, " are immediately removed; in the room whereof " ſucceeds a new Train of Ideas, which renovate the " whole animal Oeconomy, exhilerate the Heart, " occaſion briſk and ſparkling Imaginations, chearful " Dreams, and the moſt lively and ſanguine Spirits. " In a Word, it recovers all Perſons, as it were by " Inchantment, from thoſe Incumbrances of the " Mind, which occaſion a dark and ſplenatick way " of Thinking, and puts them in a State of perfect

" Sere-

" Serenity, Gladneſs, and good Humour. It is very " pleaſant to the Palate, and may be taken without " the Knowledge of the moſt intimate Friend, Ac- " quaintance, or Bedfellow. To be had *only* of the " Inventor himſelf, Doctor *ROBERT KING*, (who " has obtained a Patent for the *ſole* vending thereof) " at his own Houſe over-againſt *Arlington-ſtreet* in " *Piccadilly*; where he is to be adviſed with, in theſe " Diſtempers, every Morning from *Eight* till *Twelve*, " and at no other Times, unleſs it be upon very ex- " traordinary Occaſions.

N. B. *Any Perſon, by applying to the* Doctor, *at the Place aforeſaid, may be farther ſatisfied of the Virtues of this excellent Medicine, and of ſeveral great Cures which it has perform'd, with the Names of Perſons, who are ready to teſtify the Truth of them, and Directions where they may be ſpoken with.* A.

N° 4. *Friday, December* 16.

Res nova & inſueta, ſupplicia de ſtudiis *ſumi. Bono hercule* publico, *iſta in pœnas ingenioſa crudelitas poſt Ciceronem inventa eſt. Quid enim futurum fuit, ſi* Triumviris *libuiſſet ingenium* Ciceronis *proſcribere? Dii melius, quod* eo ſæculo *iſta ingeniorum ſupplicia cæperunt, quo & ingenia deſierunt.*

HAVING endeavoured, in a former Paper, to ſtate the true Nature and proper Extent of the *Liberty of the Preſs*, or the *Freedom* of ſpeaking *and* publiſhing *our Thoughts*; I ſhall now proceed, in the ſame ſuccinct Manner, to prove that ſuch a *Liberty*, as is there defined, has been a-

greeable to the Sentiments and Practices of all great and good Men in every Age and every Nation.

The *Holy Scriptures*, which are not only the moſt *authentick*, but alſo the moſt *ancient* Writings now extant in the World, abound with Inſtances, where the utmoſt Freedom is uſed in chaſtiſing the Vices and Iniquities of thoſe Times. It is the immediate Direction of God himſelf to one of his Prophets, *to cry* aloud, *and* ſpare not; *to lift up his* Voice like a Trumpet, *and ſhew his People their* Tranſgreſſions, *and the Houſe of* Jacob *their* Sins.

The *Gracians* were ſo far from having any Notion of reſtraining the *Freedom of Speech* on any Occaſions, that they ſeem to have allowed an unjuſtifiable Latitude, and even Licentiouſneſs in their publick Debates; as might be amply proved from the Writings of that great Father of Oratory *Demoſthenes* himſelf; who, in many Paſſages of his *Philippick Orations*, deſcends to ſuch Appellations and Forms of Expreſſion, as would be eſteem'd, in this Age, meer *Billinſgate* and Scurrility. The coarſe Language, which *Homer* puts into the Mouths of his *favourite Heroes*, and ſometimes even of his *Gods* themſelves, is a full Confirmation of the *Liberty* of thoſe Times; which I ſhall not therefore endeavour to prove any farther in this place, becauſe it will be mentioned hereafter with more Propriety, and the Sanction of much better Authority than mine.

If we come to the *Romans*, we ſhall find them in the full Poſſeſſion of this *Liberty* for ſeveral Ages; which they enjoy'd not only in Theory and Speculation, but in Practice and Reality; not only the Appearance and outward Shew of it, but the Subſtance and the Thing itſelf, in its full Extent, without any Limitations or Reſtrictions; without any of thoſe Clogs and Refinements, which are the Inventions of later Times. I ſay they enjoyed it for ſeveral Ages; becauſe when Corruption, Luxury, and Libertiniſm began

gan to prevail amongſt them, they alſo loſt it; which was the Forerunner, as it conſtantly will be in every Government, of the Subverſion of their Conſtitution, and the Loſs of all their other Liberties.

We are informed by *Tacitus*, that *Auguſtus* was the firſt Perſon in *Rome*, who took Cognizance of *ſcandalous Libels*, under colour, and by a forced conſtruction of the *Lex Majeſtatis*; being provoked to this Method of Proceeding by the licentious Behaviour of *Caſſius Severus*, who had traduced ſeveral illuſtrious Perſons, of both Sexes, in his ſatirical Writings; and that afterwards *Tiberius* fell into the ſame Practices; exaſperated, in like manner, by ſome Lampoons, which were publiſhed againſt his *Pride* and *Cruelty*, by unknown Authors.

This *Lex Majeſtatis* was a ſort of Law againſt *High Treaſon*; which, *Tacitus* obſerves, bore the *ſame Title* in former Times; but that it was then put in Execution againſt other kind of Offences, ſuch as betraying the *Army*, ſowing *Sedition*, or leſſening the Majeſty of the *Roman* People by *Male-Adminiſtration*. *Actions*, ſays he, were *condemn'd*, but *Words* went *unpuniſhed*.

From hence we may perceive the evil Conſequences of bad *Precedents*, and the Danger of departing, in any Degree, from the original Intention of *Penal* Statutes; for this Procedure of *Auguſtus*, in ſtraining a Law, which was deſign'd only againſt *Actions*, to the Puniſhment even of the *worſt kind of Writings*, paved the way for his next Succeſſor to proſecute the moſt *innocent Books*, and deſtroy entirely that *juſt Liberty*, which is the greateſt Bleſſing of a free People.

As this Method of condemning Books and puniſhing Authors became a frequent Practice in ſucceeding Reigns, ſo it gave Birth to that beautiful Reflection of *Seneca*, which I have choſen for my Motto to this Paper, and may be tranſlated, for the Uſe of my *Engliſh* Readers, in this Manner. *The Puniſhment of learned*

learned Men, ſays he, *was a new and unuſual Thing. Happy was it for the Publick, that theſe cruel Penalties upon* Learning *were invented after* Tully's *Death; for what would have been the Conſequence, if the* Triumvirate *had thought fit to baniſh the* Works *of* Cicero? *The Gods more wiſely ordained, that ſuch Methods of puniſhing* ingenious Men *ſhould begin in that Age, when* Genius *itſelf ſhould ceaſe in the World.*

If we deſcend to later Ages, we ſhall conſtantly obſerve, upon a ſtrict Review of the Hiſtories of all Nations, that *Liberty* in general has always flouriſhed in the greateſt Perfection, where the Liberty of *Writing* has been moſt encouraged; and when this Freedom declines by any Checks put upon the *Preſs*, that Tyranny and Servitude increaſe in Proportion; for which Reaſon, thoſe Perſons who, in any Age, have been the Patrons of *Popular Liberty*, have always been the Champions of the Freedom of the *Preſs*; which was never reſtrained but in order to ſerve ſome bad Deſign, in wicked Reigns, or under corrupt Adminiſtrations.

What glorious Complaints and Remonſtrances did our Forefathers make againſt the cruel and arbitrary Proceedings of the *Star-Chamber* and *High-Commiſſion* Courts? How did the *Whigs* of old exclaim againſt ſeveral Proſecutions in the Reigns of King *Charles* and King *James* the Second? Who has not heard of the great Mr. *Sydney*'s Caſe? And who, that has the leaſt notion of *Liberty*, does not abhor the Proceedings againſt him? which ſeem to be of the ſame nature with thoſe ſet on foot under *Auguſtus* and *Tiberius*, by conſtruing *private Writings* into *Overt-acts*, and puniſhing them by the Laws againſt *High Treaſon*. *Scribere eſt agere*, will always be eſteem'd, by Men of Senſe and Probity, as a moſt unjuſt, arbitrary and tyrannical Interpretation.

But, to come yet nearer to our own times, and to Inſtances, which almoſt every Man living may remem-

member. —— How ſtrenuouſly did the whole Body of *Whigs* contend for the *Liberty of the Preſs* at the latter end of the late Reign? And how boldly did they put it in Practice? What a *bold* ſtand did Sir *Richard Steele* make againſt the Proceedings of thoſe Times, in his *political Writings*? With what unuſual Freedom were the Characters and Conduct of the greateſt Perſons ſet forth in the *Medley* and *High-German Doctor*? And what a multitude of Books, Pamphlets and Papers, to the ſame purpoſe, were publiſhed at that juncture? Every Body knows *who* were the Patrons and Encouragers of thoſe Writings; and *who* have ſince rewarded the Authors of them; which, however diſguiſed under *Fable* and *Allegory*, would not have eſcaped in ſome Reigns. But I muſt do the Perſons then in Power the juſtice to own, that they generally ſuffered theſe Writings to be publiſhed with Impunity, and contented themſelves with applying Argument to Argument, and anſwering one piece of *Wit* or *Satire* with another. The only inſtances of any Severity, which we meet with, are burning the Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*'s immortal *Preface*, and expelling Sir *Richard Steele* out of the *Houſe of Commons*; but we meet with no grievous Impriſonments, no expenſive Proſecutions, or burthenſome Fines, in the Hiſtory of that Adminiſtration.

In the Caſe of Sir *Richard Steele*, I obſerve with pleaſure ſome of the *greateſt Names* now in the Kingdom, who appear on the Liſt of his Friends as publick Aſſertors of the Liberty of *Writing*, by voting with the Minority againſt his *Expulſion*.

The preſent moſt excellent Biſhop of *Sarum* has been, for many Years, a zealous Advocate for the *Freedom of Debate* and *Liberty of writing* on all Subjects, both *religious* and *political*; and has not only exerciſed it himſelf, in the moſt unwearied manner, for the Service of his Country, but has conſtantly pleaded for the ſame Right in others, and will,

I doubt not, reſume this glorious Topick, when ever there is a proper Occaſion.

We are, at preſent, in no danger of ſeeing it abridged. Thoſe at the Helm were Friends to this Privilege *before* they were in Power, and have done nothing *ſince* to make them afraid of it. But if any Miniſter for the future, either in this or any other Nation, ſhould attempt to deſtroy it by indirect Methods of puniſhing Writers, I ſhall offer only one Argument to diſſuade Him from it, *viz.* that it is not his *Intereſt*; for let Him puniſh an Author ever ſo ſeverely, it will in no meaſure depreciate his Writings, but on the contrary add to their Value, and give them more Authority. Beſides, a Man, who has determined to ſacrifice his Intereſt ſo far as to write againſt *Men in Power*, ought to have Reſolution enough to ſuffer any unjuſt Puniſhment, which They can inflict. It becomes only the awkward Politicks of *Monks* and *Pedants*, to think of ſuppreſſing Truth and diſcrediting a Man's Writings, or deterring an Author, conſcious of his Innocence, from proceeding in his Studies, by arbitrary Penalties, Cenſures and Prohibitions. I cannot illuſtrate this Point better, nor conclude this Subject more properly, than by a Paſſage out of the *Roman* Hiſtory, as it is recorded by the ſame excellent Writer before-mentioned, in the Life of *Tiberius*.

He tells us, "That, in the Conſulſhip of *Cornelius* "*Coſſus* and *Aſinius Agrippa*, *Cremutius Cordus* was "indicted for a new and till then unheard-of Crime, "*viz. that in ſome Annals, which he had publiſhed,* "*he had ſpoken in praiſe of* Marcus Brutus, *and ſaid* "*that* Caius Caſſius *was the* LAST ROMAN. *Satrius* "*Secundus* and *Pinarius Natta*, two Creatures of "*Sejanus*, were his Accuſers; which was a bad Omen "to the Criminal; and beſides, the Emperor himſelf "heard his Defence with a wrathful Countenance; "which *Cremutius*, having given over all hopes of "Life, began in this Manner.

FA-

FATHERS,

MY *Words* only are called in Queſtion; which is a certain Sign that my *Actions* are innocent. But neither do my Words relate either to the *Emperor*, or the Emperor's *Mother*, and therefore not within the Law of *High Treaſon*. I am charged with having ſpoken in commendation of *Brutus* and *Caſſius*; whoſe Actions a multitude of Authors have related, and none of them have mentioned without Honour. *Livy*, the moſt famous of all Hiſtorians, both for Eloquence and Veracity, extoll'd *Pompey* in ſo lofty a Manner, that *Auguſtus* uſed to call him *Pompeianus*; nor was this any Bar to their future Friendſhip. He no where mentions *Scipio* and *Afranius*, nor even this very *Caſſius* and *Brutus* as *Robbers* and *Parricides*, which are now grown faſhionable Terms; but often gives them the Title of great and eminent Men. The Writings of *Aſinius Pollio* make worthy mention of the ſame Perſons; and *Meſſala Corvinus* called *Caſſius* his *General*; yet both of Theſe flouriſhed in Wealth and Honours. In what other Manner did *Cæſar*, when *Dictator*, treat that Book of *Cicero*, in which he makes *Cato* equal to the Gods, but by endeavouring to *anſwer* it in an *Oration*, and appealing to the World for the Juſtice of his Cauſe? The Letters of *Antony*, and the Speeches of *Brutus* contain a great many bitter and undeſerved Reproaches upon *Auguſtus*. The Verſes of *Bibaculus* and *Catullus*, which are ſtuffed with Reflections upon the *Cæſars*, are ſtill read. But even divine *Julius* and *Auguſtus* themſelves ſuffered theſe things, and paſt them over with Impunity; whether more out of *Moderation* or *Prudence*, is not eaſy to determine; for ſuch things die of themſelves, when deſpiſed; whereas Reſentment is a tacit Confeſſion of Guilt. I ſhall not mention the *Grecians*; amongſt whom not only *Liberty*, but even *Licentiouſneſs* met with Indemnity;

demnity; or, if any one took Offence at it, he revenged *Words* with *Words only*. But it was always more particularly allowable for any Man to ſpeak with the utmoſt freedom of Thoſe, whom Death had exempted from the Power either of Hatred or Favour. Do I endeavour, by my Writings, to ſtir up the People to Sedition and Civil War, whilſt *Brutus* and *Caſſius* are actually in Arms and encamped on the Plains of *Philippi?* Or have they not been dead above theſe ſeventy Years; ſo that they are known only by their Statues, which even the Conqueror has not defaced; or by that faint Reſemblance, which is to be found in the Works of Hiſtorians? Poſterity gives to every Man the Praiſe which he deſerves; nor will there be wanting Thoſe, who, if I am condemned, will not only remember *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, but ME alſo?

" Having finiſhed his Speech, he went out of the " Senate, and put an End to his Life by *Abſtinence*. " The Fathers ordered his Books to be *burnt* by the " *Ædiles*; notwithſtanding which, they remained " in private Hands, and were ſecretly diſperſed. " From whence, *ſays the Hiſtorian*, we may judge " of the ridiculous Folly of Thoſe, who imagine, by " *preſent Power*, to extinguiſh even the *Memory of* " *ſucceeding Ages*; whereas, on the contrary, the " *Proſecution* of ingenious Books gives them *greater* " *Authority*; nor have either foreign Tyrants, or " Thoſe, who have exerciſed the ſame kind of Seve- " rity amongſt us, gain'd any thing but *Infamy* to " *Themſelves*, and *Glory* to *Thoſe*, whom they have " *puniſhed*. D.

Monday,

N° 5. *Monday, December* 19.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, *Esq;*

SIR, *Cornhill, Dec.* 14. 1726.

THO' you ſeem to have applied the greateſt Part of your Life to *philological* and *political* Studies; yet I promiſe myſelf, from what you have already publiſh'd, that you will not refuſe your Aſſiſtance towards clearing up any Point, which may be of Service to your Country; eſpecially on ſo important a Subject as TRADE, which is the great Baſis and Support of the *Britiſh* Nation.

I ſhall not, at preſent, enter into the Diſpute, how far *Monopolies* or *excluſive Corporations*, of any kind, are prejudicial to *Commerce* in general; but ſhall only obſerve, that if they are, in any degree, pernicious to a *trading Kingdom*, though never ſo well regulated and honeſtly managed, they muſt be infinitely more ſo, when they come to be abuſed, and fall under a *fraudulent* and *corrupt Direction*; for in ſuch a Caſe they are not properly *Companies*, but *illegal Combinations* of wicked Men confederated together, in order to cheat and impoſe upon their Fellow-ſubjects.

Since therefore it has been thought expedient, by the Wiſdom of the Legiſlature, for divers weighty Reaſons and political Ends, to erect certain great *Companies* of Merchants in this Kingdom, and inveſt them with Charters to carry on a ſeparate Trade to ſeveral Parts of the World; the utmoſt Care ought to be taken that the original Deſign of their Incor-

poration may not be perverted and abuſed; for if the Managers of any of thoſe *Companies*, not content with large Salaries, and the moſt beneficial Branches of *Commerce*, excluſive of the reſt of their Countrymen, ſhould endeavour to raiſe an unjuſt Profit by *clandeſtine* and *corrupt Methods*, the Conſequence would be ſo fatal, not only to the Joint-proprietors of the Stock, and all trading Perſons, but to the Kingdom in general, that ſuch Practices ought never to eſcape with Impunity. And, indeed, the exemplary Puniſhment, which was inflicted on the late *South-Sea Directors* and others, for notorious Male-behaviour and Breach of Truſt, leaves us no Room to doubt that all future Miſmanagement and unwarrantable Practices, either in that or any other Company, will meet with the ſame *ſtrict Examination* and *juſt Severity*.

Theſe were always my Thoughts concerning *Trade* and *Companies*; but they have been lately refreſhed in my Mind by the Diſcourſe, which has been current about Town, concerning ſome *Frauds*, which are ſaid to have been diſcovered at a late *Sale* of *Eaſt India* Goods. I own, I gave no Credit to theſe Rumours at firſt; which I look'd on as ſome of the uſual Artifices of diſaffected and ill-deſigning Men; for as it is at beſt a diſputable Point, whether *that Trade* is really of any Advantage to this Kingdom, or not; ſo I was unwilling to believe that any Perſons, who are concerned in the Direction of it, would ſtoop to ſuch ſcandalous Colluſions, as muſt entirely deſtroy that *little Benefit*, if any, which accrues to us from this Branch of Commerce; eſpecially at a Time, when we are ſaid to be in Danger of being involved in an expenſive and bloody War, almoſt on Purpoſe to ſupport the Intereſt of * *that Company*; but I could not help believing that there muſt be ſomething more than I at firſt apprehended

* *By aboliſhing the* Oſtend Company.

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in theſe Reports, upon reading ſeveral Advertiſements, in the publick Prints, deſiring *All Buyers of Piece-Goods of the United* East-India *Company to meet the firſt of December at the Crown Tavern behind the Royal Exchange, on ſpecial Affairs*; and I was farther confirm'd in This by the late Proceedings *at a general Court of the* East-India *Company*.

It was my Intention to have been preſent at *that Meeting*, being an hearty well-wiſher to the Proſperity of *Trade*, in which I have been long concern'd, and very deſirous of acquainting my ſelf with all Tranſactions and Occurrences of that Nature; but I was diſappointed in my Deſign by a ſudden Indiſpoſition, which prevented me from going abroad; ſo that I can judge of that Affair only by *hear-ſay*, and from what has been made publick in the *Whitehall Evening Poſt*.

Upon reading the Account of the *Proceedings and Reſolutions of the general Court*, publiſh'd in that Paper on *Saturday* the 10th Inſtant, I cannot help thinking it very *defective* and prejudicial to the Honour of that *Company*, as well as to the Character of Mr. *Eccleſtone*; for we find the *Complaints of the Merchants and Traders, Buyers of Piece-Goods*, contained in a *Remonſtrance* and *two Repriſentations*, ſet forth there in the ſtrongeſt Light; whereas the moſt *weak* and *frivolous Anſwers* are return'd to them on the Part, as it is affirm'd, of the *Court of Directors*; and tho' Mr. *Eccleſtone* is ſaid to have *ſpent a great deal of Time in proving his Innocence, which he did very handſomely*; yet all the World, except Thoſe, who were preſent at this Aſſembly, are left entirely in the Dark as to the Manner or ſubſtance of his *Defence*. In order to judge of this the better, it will be neceſſary to review the *Account* of this Affair, Article by Article, as it ſtands in the Paper before-mention'd, which begins thus.

East-India-House, Friday, Dec. 9. 1726.

" THIS Day was held here a general Court " of the United Company of Merchants of " *England*, trading to the *East-Indies*; when they " took into Consideration the Complaints of the Mer- " chants and Traders, Buyers of Piece-goods at the " Company's Sales, contain'd in a *Remonstrance* of the " said Merchants, *&c.* to the Court of Directors, " and in *two Representations*, deliver'd by the Mana- " gers for the said Merchants, *&c.* to the Committee " appointed by the Court of Directors to enquire into " the *Hardships* and *Complaints* of the Buyers; " wherein was set forth, at large, That at the late " *Sale* of the *Gurrahs*, by the Ship *Eyles*, a large " Quantity were all put up at 17 s. a *great Part* of " which were discovered to be of a much *better* Sort " than the *Samples*; which occasion'd the *Adjourn-* " *ment* of the said *Sale*, to the Disappointment of " *Those*, who, by their *private Fore-knowledge* of that " Affair, would have made an *unjust Gain*, at the " *Company's Expence*, and have done a *manifest In-* " *jury* to the *less knowing Buyers*. That *those Di-* " *rectors*, who are *Buyers* at these *Sales*, have evi- " dently too much Advantage of *others*; and that " even the *Dutch* Buyers have often had the same " *unjust Advantages* communicated to them, by some " Means or other, to the great *Detriment* of the " *Company*, and of the *fair Buyers* of our Nation; " who would have been *ruined* by such a Course of " Trade, and the *Company* must have been deprived " of any *other Buyers* than their own *Directors* and " the *Dutch Gentlemen*, or such as could obtain an " *equal Knowledge* with them, of this Secret, that " sound *and* fine Goods *were to be bought by* damaged " *and* coarse Samples. That therefore, upon the " most mature Consideration of the *knowledge* the " *buying Directors* must have of the Company's in-

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" veſtments, and likewiſe of the *Coſt* and *Variations* " of all the Goods, and their neceſſary *Direction* " of the *Sales*, there can be no *effectual* Remedy of " theſe Evils, unleſs *all* the Buyers be put upon the " *ſame* Foot, and *equally acquainted* with the *Varia-* " *tions* of *Coſts*; and unleſs, for the future, NO DI- " RECTOR, directly or indirectly, be permitted to " be a BUYER at any of the *Company's Sales*; which " is the known Practice of the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Com- " pany."

Can any thing be more ſtrongly drawn up than this plain *Repreſentation*? Or can any *Complaints* be more *juſt*, provided the *Facts*, therein charged, are really true? And if they are ſo, what *Demands* can be more *reaſonable* than Thoſe, which the *Complainants* make, in order to prevent *effectually* theſe Evils for the future?

As to that part of the Charge, which relates to the *Dutch Gentlemen*, I am very loth to believe the Fact to be true, and heartily wiſh that the *Complainants* may find themſelves miſtaken in ſuch a Suggeſtion. How romantick and ridiculous would it appear, if we ſhould laviſhly exhauſt the Blood and Treaſure of *Great-Britain*, in order to prevent *one foreign Power* from interfering with us in this Branch of Commerce, at the ſame time that the ſuppoſed *Profit* of it is perfidiouſly betray'd into the Hands of *another*? I can ſee no difference in the Caſe; nor ſhould any Preference be given to either of theſe Powers; both of whom are equally, as yet, our good Friends and Allies, if That were any thing to the Purpoſe; but ſince *Trade* is the Bone of Contention, it is of little Conſequence to a fair-dealing *Britiſh-Merchant* whether it be a *pretended Friend*, or a *profeſs'd Enemy*, that takes it from him.

But let us now proceed to the *Anſwer*, which the Author of this Paper, in the name of the *Court of Directors*, makes to theſe *Repreſentations*.

" After this, *says he*, the *Answer* of the Court of " Directors to the said *Remonstrance* and *two Repre-* " *sentations* was also read, setting forth that upon " an *accidental Discovery*, at the Company's *late* " *Sale*, of a *Mistake* committed in the *Samples* of the " Piece-goods, they had thereupon enquired into the " Affair, and had found one of the Company's *Ser-* " *vants* guilty of some *Neglect* in the Duty of his " Post, and that the Court of Directors had punished " him for his *Crime*, by suspending him from his " Office, and he had remained suspended *ever since*; " that having done *This*, they were desirous of giv- " ing all reasonable Satisfaction to the *Buyers* for the " *future*, and they had therefore called this *General* " *Court* to receive their Direction upon the present " extraordinary Occasion."

I suppose these *Declarations*, said to be made by the Court of *Directors*, were not only barely set forth in their *Answer*, but also proved, by unquestionable Evidence, to be *true*. I presume it appeared, beyond all doubt, that this Affair of the *Samples* was really a MISTAKE, and owing only to the NEGLECT of one of the Company's SERVANTS; that this Servant was *named* and *produced* in the Court; that he there acknowledged his Offence, and gave the *Complainants* just Reason to believe, that he was under no manner of *Influence*, nor had received any *Orders*, directly or indirectly, in this Affair; in which Case, I think the poor Man sufficiently punished, by *Suspension* from his Office, though it were for never *so short a Time*. I must suppose all This, because the *simple Allegations* of the *greatest Body* of Men in the World, in a Matter of this Consequence, and in Answer to such *strong Representations* and *violent Suspicions*, would not be thought satisfactory in any Court of Justice.— " I am glad however that they were desirous " of giving all *reasonable Satisfaction* to the *Buyers* " for the *future*; and that they had called this *Ge-*

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" *neral Court* to receive their *Direction*, upon the " preſent *extraordinary* Occaſion."—*Let us therefore ſee how the Matter went on.*

" Then the Debate was opened by the Managers " for the *Merchants*; who inſiſted upon the *Facts* and " *Propoſition* laid down in their printed *Remonſtrance* " and *Repreſentations*; upon which it was moved, " that they ſhould declare, whether they meant to " charge the *Court* of *Directors* with the Miſmanage- " ment alledged, or only ſome *particular Perſons* in " the *Direction*. And it was determin'd not to be a " Complaint againſt the whole Body of the Directors, " but that *one* of them, *Mr. Eccleſtone* by Name, had " been guilty of a great *Breach of Truſt*, in making " Uſe of his *previous Knowledge* of that *Miſtake* in " the *Samples* at the *Sale*, to the Detriment of the " *Company*.

" At length, after This had been long canvaſſed, " Mr. *Eccleſtone* made his *Defence*, and ſpent a great " deal of Time in proving his *Innocence*; and This he " did ſo *handſomely*, and with ſo much *Succeſs*, that " when the Queſtion was called for, *Whether Mr.* " Eccleſtone *be guilty of a* Breach of Truſt, *&c.* ano- " ther was moved, and ſeconded. *viz. That the put-* " *ting the ſaid Queſtion be adjourned*, ſine Die; " which was carried in the *Affirmative* by a great " Majority."

I think it abſolutely neceſſary, for the full Juſtification of the *Company* in general, and of Mr. *Eccleſtone* in particular, that this notable Harangue may be made as publick as the late Rumours and Aſperſions on his Character have been; which were not confined to that particular Body of Men, whom ſuch Reports moſt concerned, nor to one corner of the Town, but have been ſpread through every Part of the Kingdom, and become the Subject of general Indignation. Neither can I make the leaſt Doubt that Mr. *Eccleſtone* will refuſe this Satisfaction to the World, as well as this

this Juſtice to himſelf; ſince as we are all ſenſible of that Gentleman's excellent Talent at Speech-making; ſo I am ready to agree with this Writer, that it muſt be a very *handſome*, *clear*, and *maſterly Defence*, which could meet with ſuch wonderful *Succeſs*, as to produce an *Adjournment*, ſine Die, *of the Queſtion, whether he was guilty, or not*; for the impartial Deciſion of which, they were aſſembled together in this *extraordinary* Manner.

"However, *as this Writer goes on*, for the Sa-
" tisfaction of the *Buyers*, who had raiſed this Storm,
" it was reſolved, that, for the future, at the Sales
" of Piece-Goods, there ſhall be *different Samples* pro-
" duced, where there is any Variation in the Prices;
" and it was alſo reſolved, that the *Warehouſe-Keepers*
" of the Company ſhould, for the future, give ſecu-
" rity for the Diſcharge of the Duty of their Poſt;
" and that their Securities ſhould become anſwerable
" for any Damage, which the Company might ſuſtain
" by any *Neglect* or *Fault of theirs*."

Suppoſing Mr. *Eccleſtone* to be entirely *innocent* (as we are now obliged to do) and that all this Clamour was occaſioned only by a *Miſtake* and the *Neglect* of one of the Company's *Servants*, I believe theſe Precautions, for the future, may be ſufficient; though I do not readily underſtand what Securities can be given in this Caſe; nor can I doubt that theſe worthy Determinations gave full Satisfaction to the *complaining Merchants* and *Traders*; without which this Buſineſs cannot be ſaid to be *happily finiſhed*, as this Writer aſſures us, and as I hope it may be, without the Trouble of a PARLIAMENTARY ENQUIRY, at this critical Juncture; when it is to be feared the whole Attention of the *Legiſlature* will be taken up about *other Matters* of the utmoſt Importance.

I muſt not conclude without deſiring the Reader to obſerve that I have taken the whole Repreſentation of this Caſe *verbatim* from the Writer of the *Whitehall Evening*

Evening Poſt, and that he is anſwerable for any Miſtakes, which may be in it. For my own part, I can only promiſe, that if I am charged with any fallacious Reaſoning, or forced Deductions, I will either endeavour to juſtify myſelf againſt ſuch a Charge, or acknowledge my Errors.

I am, SIR,

Your humble Servant,

and Well-wiſher,

MERCATOR.

N

N° 6. *Friday, December* 23.

———*Opiferque per orbem*
Dicitur.

A Man, who is engaged in a general Deſign of correcting Vice, and expoſing Fraud, muſt be contented to ſuffer a great deal of undeſerved Reproach, and to incur the Reſentments of numberleſs Perſons without any juſt Cauſe; but as I cannot expect, according to the common Courſe of Nature, to continue much longer in this World; ſo I would not go out of it without diſcharging my Conſcience, and leaving behind me ſome publick Teſtimony of my Zeal againſt the prevailing Depravity of the Age, in which I live; that, whatſoever may be the Fate of my Country when I am gone, it may appear that I gave no Encouragement, either by my Doctrines or Example, to the reigning Vices of the times; but,

but, on the contrary, endeavoured, as much as lay in my Power, to check that Torrent of Corruption, which I found breaking in upon us.

Tho' I am but juſt enter'd on this commendable Work, yet I find that I have already given great Offence to ſeveral powerful Bodies of Men in this Town: particularly to the learned Faculty of *Phyſick*; who, it ſeems, are highly exaſperated againſt me for recommending the famous Dr. *King*'s *Catholicon* AUREUM *Baſilicum*; or, *The Royal* GOLDEN *Specifick*, for the *Spleen* and *Vapours*; which a certain learned *Fellow* of the College (who at preſent ſhall be nameleſs) hath thought fit, in a publick Coffee-houſe, to call a *Quack-Remedy*.

It is, methinks, a very hard Caſe, that a Man cannot diſtinguiſh himſelf from the common Herd of his Profeſſion, without gaining the Character of an *Emperick*; and that the ſame Medicine ſhall be call'd a *Quack-Medicine* (though it performs never ſo many unqueſtionable cures) whilſt it remains in a *private Hand*, which ſhall be immediately transform'd into a *never-failing univerſal Specifick*, as ſoon as the Author vouchſafes to make the *College* as wiſe as himſelf.

As this Treatment of Doctor *King*'s Remedy is, I believe, chiefly occaſioned by my Publication of it; I think myſelf obliged, in Juſtice both to him and my ſelf, to give the World ſome farther Account of that Affair, and of the Reaſons, which induced me to ſpeak ſo much in its Behalf.

The *Advertiſement* of this Remedy was brought, about a Fortnight ago, by a well-looking, freſh-colour'd Man, in a mourning Livery, in order to be inſerted in this Paper; but though the *Doctor* ſeems to promiſe very fair, and gives a plauſible Account enough of his *Medicine*, yet I am always ſo cautious of impoſing on the Publick, that I reſolved to make ſome Enquiries into the Truth of his Allegations, before I gave it the Sanction of my Recommendation in this Paper. With

With this Intent, I waited on the *Doctor* himſelf for Satisfaction; and happening to be ſomewhat out of Humour on Account of the late *Lottery*, He choſe to convince me of the Virtue and Efficacy of his *Royal Specifick*, by an Experiment on myſelf. He gave me a ſmall Quantity of it, which I applied according to his Directions; and, in leſs than the Space of five Minutes, found myſelf perfectly recovered; ſeeing things in quite another Light than what I did before, and being in as chearful a Temper as I ever remember my ſelf to have been in my whole Life.

Upon which the *Doctor*, ſmiling very pleaſantly upon me, (as I am told it is his *Cuſtom*) proceeded with great Frankneſs and Ingenuity to acquaint me with the Method of his obtaining this Remedy, and of ſeveral wonderful Cures, which he had performed with it, during his *ſix* Years Practice in this City. He own'd to me, that He in a manner extorted the *Secret* of this *Noſtrum*, with great Difficulty, after much Importunity and ſeveral particular Services, (not fit to be mentioned) from the late famous Dr. *Cataline*; having been firſt convinced of its invaluable Qualities by a moſt *ſurprizing Cure* performed on himſelf; but he aſſured me that, without Vanity, he might preſume to ſay that he had made no ſmall Improvements on the original *Recipe*. He likewiſe told me, that altho' he could not pretend, like ſome eminent, as well as obſcure Practitioners, to have travelled into remote Kingdoms for Experience; yet he could truly boaſt that the Fame of his *Royal Preparations*, and the Adroitneſs of his Skill had reached the moſt diſtant Regions of the World; having had the particular Honour to perform ſeveral wonderful Cures, not only in the moſt flouriſhing Courts of *Europe*, but likewiſe in the great Empires of *Turky*, *China*, *Japan*, and *Morocco*, as well as in moſt Parts of the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies*.

He

He aſſured me, in particular, that the Duke *de Riperda*, late Prime Miniſter of the Kingdom of *Spain*, was, for ſome Time, under his Hands; and that he ſhould not in the leaſt have doubted of making a *perfect Cure* of him, if he had not, on a ſudden, unhappily fallen into Diſgrace. It is not unlikely that This was partly occaſioned by his Correſpondence with the *Doctor*, at a Time when there were ſome Differences between the two Courts; which, to the natural Jealouſy of the *Spaniards*, might give Grounds of Suſpicion, and alarm them with Apprehenſions that ſome dangerous Deſigns were carrying on, under the Pretence of curing a common bodily Infirmity.

He was farther pleaſed to inform me, that he hath now ſeveral *great Men* for his Patients in the Courts of *France*, *Germany*, *Holland*, *Sweden*, *Poland*, *Savoy*, *Denmark*, *Muſcovy*, and *Pruſſia*; beſides moſt other inferior States and Kingdoms; not excepting even the little *pretended* Court of *Bologna*; but as it would be leſſening the Character of moſt of theſe Perſons, to have it known that they are ſubject to ſuch flatulent Diſtempers, ſo he deſired to be excuſed from ſpecifying their Names.

He then proceeded to give me the Particulars of ſome equally eminent Cures, which he has perform'd in his own native Country of *Great Britain*; particularly on two *great* and very *antient Families* in *Weſtminſter*; which were, ſome Time ago, afflicted with the moſt virulent Degree of this Diſtemper; and which render'd them ſo peeviſh, froward, and perverſe, that there was no dealing with them, or bringing them to any ſort of Temper. Several Methods were made uſe of to no Purpoſe; till at length Dr. *King* being ſent for, and his *Remedies* applied, the Symptoms immediately abated, and in a ſhort Time entirely vaniſhed. They continue (bleſſed be God!) in a more perfect State of Health and good Humour than

than they were ever known before, by the conſtant Uſe of *this Specifick*; for it is obſerved that, upon the leaſt *Intermiſſion* or *Neglect*, they are apt to relapſe; for which Reaſon they always keep a great Quantity of *theſe Medicines* in their Houſes.

He told me alſo of two *eminent Lawyers*, whom he lately cured of a ſtrange *political Diſeaſe*, which they had contracted by reading ſeveral peſtilent Books and Pamphlets, written in Commendation of the Proceedings of the late Reign. This *State-Spleen* (which is the propereſt Name I can give it) had intoxicated their Brains ſo much, that they were conſtantly raving about the *Danger of the Church*, and would talk Treaſon publickly in all Places; which had like to have brought *One* of them into Trouble; but the Government conſidered his Caſe; and, out of their known Lenity, only deſired his Friends to take care of him. Upon the *Doctor*'s ſetting up, *this Gentleman* was one of the firſt Cures, which he performed, and has continued perfectly well ever ſince, by the *conſtant* and *regular* Application of this unparallel'd *Arcanum*. The *Other*'s Diſtemper continued longer upon him, from an Antipathy, which he had taken againſt any of Dr. *King*'s Preſcriptions; which was occaſioned, as it is ſaid, by an old family Pique; but ſome preliminary Advances towards a Reconcilement being made by the *Doctor*, (who is reckoned a good natur'd Man, and withal, very proud of his *Noſtrum*,) He conſented to the Operation; which has not only recovered him from his Illneſs, but knit a firm and laſting Friendſhip between them.

To give an Inſtance of the ſudden Alteration, which the *Doctor*'s *Specifick* works upon human Minds, he told me that, about *three* Years ago, the *laſt* of theſe Gentlemen grew almoſt delirious, on Account of a *famous Bill*, then depending in Parliament; and in one of his mad Fits declared, *That he could not ſleep in his Bed, if* that Bill *paſs'd*; *and ſhould think himſelf*

much ſafer under the Government of France, *than that of* England. The *Bill* paſs'd; and his Diſtemper encreaſed upon him; which made him ſo fretful, untowardly, and capricious, that there was no bearing his Company. He could not keep his Temper in any Place, however ſolemn and venerable; but raged, kicked, ſcolded, and *proteſted* againſt every thing that happened to be ſaid or done. At length, it came to that heighth, that he raved downright, and foamed at the Mouth. He dream'd every Night that a Sett of Ruffians were employ'd to break into his Houſe, and cut his Throat; which put him under ſuch terrible Apprehenſions, that he reſolved to quit this unhappy Kingdom, and ſpend the Remainder of his Days under the benign Influence of a *French* or *Spaniſh* Government, as ſeveral of his Friends had done already. But before he put this wiſe Reſolution in Practice, He was prevail'd on by the *Doctor*'s Officiouſneſs and Good-nature, (as I have already ſet forth) who knew his Diſtemper at firſt ſight, without offering to touch his Pulſe; and, in a few Days, made ſo perfect a Cure, that he was heard to declare in publick, *that Things would go mighty well; and that the People of* England *lived under the* beſt Government *in the World.*

He acquainted me with ſeveral other ſurprizing Cures, which he had performed upon all ſorts of Perſons, both in Town and Country; but as theſe effectually convinced me of the *Doctor*'s Abilities, ſo I hope they will be ſufficient to ſatisfy the courteous Reader.

I doubt not, that my publick Recommendation of this incomparable Remedy will induce the whole Tribe of *London* Medicaſters to apply to me for the ſame Favour; but as the publick Good ſhall always be my chief View, ſo I muſt deſire theſe Practitioners, both Male and Female, not to trouble me with their *Advertiſements*, unleſs their Remedies will bear the ſame ſtrict Examination.

N° 7. *Monday, December* 26.

THE Practice of *Libelling*, as I have already obſerved, is of very dangerous Conſequence to any Government; eſpecially when the Poignancy of the *Libel* is directed againſt Majeſty itſelf; for as the Maxim of our Law, that *the King can do no wrong*, has no other Meaning, than that his *Miniſters* ought to be accountable for all Miſmanagement and Male-Adminiſtration, ſo it is highly unreaſonable to point any Reflections againſt the Prince himſelf; notwithſtanding which, it is obſervable, upon a Review of the Hiſtories of moſt Reigns, that *great Miniſters* commonly ſhew leſs Uneaſineſs at any Invectives againſt their *Maſters* than againſt *Themſelves*. There is viſibly ſome Policy in This; ſince every Body, who does not wiſh for the total Subverſion of the Conſtitution, will reſent any Attempts againſt the ſacred Perſon of the King; whereas Complaints againſt his Miniſters, when well grounded, ought not to be look'd upon in the ſame Light. I would not have theſe Obſervations applied to a late *infamous Parallel*, publiſh'd in one of the *Journals*; the Author of which is ſuppoſed to have been, lately, a *ſecret Friend* to ſome Men in Power.—But I am diverted from purſuing this Argument any farther, at preſent, by the following Letter, which will admit of no Delay.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, *Eſq*;

SIR,

MY Curioſity carried me, laſt *Wedneſday*, to be preſent at one of Mr. *Henly*'s academical Orations; which I had heard ſo much and ſo

differently talk'd of. I muſt do that ingenious Divine the Juſtice to ſay, that I think his Undertaking a very uſeful one, as he conveys a great deal of philological and critical Learning in a Language, that every Body underſtands, and in a very clear and plain Method. His Subject that Day was *HORACE*; upon which he mentioned ſeveral Particulars, to which I was before a Stranger; expatiating in the handſomeſt Manner on the Excellencies of that *great Man*, and at the ſame Time diſguiſing none of his Failings.

I will endeavour to recollect ſome of the Paſſages; and perhaps you may not think them unworthy of being inſerted in your Paper.

After having given an Account of *Horace*'s Parentage, and the Place of his Birth, which are too well known to be repeated, he took Occaſion to commend his Writings, the Purity of his Style, and that *curioſa felicitas* ſo peculiar to him. He then entered into the Deſcription of his *Perſon* and *Character*; obſerving that he call'd himſelf, pleaſantly enough, *Epicuri de grege Porcum*; *i. e.* a *Swine of* Epicurus's *Herd*; from whence he inferred that he was ſomewhat *fat* and very *dirty*. In another Place, he ſays, *Non ego paucis offendar maculis*; which is, *that he did not value a few dirty Spots*. From theſe two Paſſages he ſaid it was manifeſt, that *Horace* was little better than a *Sloven*. It appear'd likewiſe from himſelf, that his *Fortune* was originally very ſmall, but that he encreas'd it conſiderably, even beyond his own Expectations.

Hoc erat in votis, modus agri non ita magnus;
Dii melius fecere.

A ſmall bit of Land would once have contented me; but thank God, it is better with me now.

Mr.

Mr. *Henly* farther obſerved, that it was a vulgar Error to think that *Horace* was never *married*; for that the learned *Heinſius* aſſerts, that he married a Woman of *Lombardy*, of a conſiderable Fortune; *uxorem è gente Longobarda locupletiorem duxit.*

As to his *Manners*, they ſeem to have been *looſe* and *obſcene*; for *Petrus Crinitus*, whom the learned Dr. *Be—ly* falſly imagines to be the ingenious Dr. *Ha—e*, ſays in his Life of *Horace*, *Moribus dicitur fuiſſe ſubobſcænis & ad bilem excitatior*; that is, *lewd* and *cholerick*. *Auguſtus* calls him *Homuncionem lepidiſſimum*; that is, a *comical, little, laughing Fellow*, and a great Lover of *Bawdry*; which appears from many of his *Epodes*, particularly that to his Miſtreſs *Neæra*, which he made no Scruple of ſinging, before Women of the firſt Quality. It begins thus.

Nox erat, & cælo fulgebat Luna ſereno.

Which, tranſlated by a modern Poet, is as follows,

Go to Joan Glover,
And tell her I love her,
And by the Light of the Moon I'll come and ſhove her.

That *Horace* was *parſimonious*, not to ſay, *ſordidly covetous*, is plain from many of his own Writings; as for Inſtance, where he invites *Mecænas* to ſup with him, who was both *firſt Miniſter*, and his *particular Patron*. He plainly tells him that he ſhall have nothing but bad Wine, and Cabbage, and in little Glaſſes; and that he had taken Care of the Wine himſelf; from which appears too that he kept no Servant.

Vile potabis modicis Sabinum
Cantharis, Græca quod ego ipſa Teſta
Conditum levi.

He kept the Key of his Cellar himſelf, and his Wine, till in all Probability, it was ſour.

Et mihi nonum superantis annum
Plenus abeat cadus.

Thus much as to his *personal* Qualities, [illegible] *vate* Life. As for the Figure he made in Pu[illegible] appears that, though he set out but low, he [illegible] must at once very considerable; his first Ap[illegible] being under *Brutus*; where we find him [illegible] *Manium*; in the Translation of which the [illegible] differ; but I think it answers best to what [illegible] *Exempt of the Beef-Eaters*. He left his [illegible] office, as may be collected from the follow[illegible] passage, *ritè an bene Parmula*. Madam [illegible] informs us, that he was *Scriba quæstorius*, [illegible] *Secretaire de l'Epargne*, and may [illegible] enough be rendered *Secretary of the Treasury*. [illegible] tain, *Asinius Pollio* assures us, that he was [illegible] *Legatus ad Gallos*, [illegible] *Marcello & Lucio Cæs.*

When he had made some Stay, and Figure [illegible] Court, *Quintilian* observes of him, in [illegible] Book and 11th Chap. that he began to grow [illegible] *cleaner* and *purer*, and that he applied himself [illegible] *Knowledge of Men and Manners*; *Multa quæ* [illegible] *ac paras magis*. Horatius *& ad extendos fastigia* [illegible] *præcipuus*. It was probably during this Stay [illegible] at Court, that the *Secretaries of State* sent to [illegible] return with all speed, upon Affairs of the [illegible] Consequence to the Publick.

De Republica Scribæ, magna atque mea
Ordinis esse memineris. Quinte, *revertere*

There seems at this Time to have been [illegible] Design of making him *Secretary of State*, from [illegible] ted Passage in a Letter from *Augustus* to M[illegible] *Sweet sister & me in scribendis Epistolis adj[illegible]* but he never attained to this Employment, [illegible] is imputed to his extreme *Modesty*.



Eſt mihi nonum Superantis annum
Plenus albani cadus.

Thus much as to his *perſonal* Qualities, and *private* Life. As for the Figure he made in *Publick*, it appears that, though he ſet out but low, he grew almoſt at once very conſiderable; his firſt Appearance being under *Brutus*; where we find him *Tribunus Militum*; in the Tranſlation of which the Learned differ; but I think it anſwers beſt to what we call, *Exempt of the Beef-Eaters*. He left his Poſt but oddly, as may be collected from the following Expreſſion, *relicta non bene Parmula*. Madam *Dacier* informs us, that he was *Scriba queſtorius*, which ſhe calls *Secretaire de l'Epargne*, and may properly enough be rendered *Secretary of the Treaſury*. After this, *Aſinius Pollio* aſſures us, that he was ſent Ambaſſador to *Gaul*, *Legatus apud* Gallos *miſſus fuit*, Man-lio & Dolio *Coſſ.*

When he had made ſome Stay, and Figure in that Court, *Quintilian* obſerves of him, in his tenth Book and firſt Chap. that he began to grow ſomewhat *cleaner* and *ſprucer*, and that he applied himſelf to the *Knowledge of Men and Manners*; *Multo eſt terſior & purus magis* Horatius & *ad notandos hominum mores præcipuus*. It was probably during this Stay of his in *Gaul*, that the *Secretaries of State* ſent to him to return with all ſpeed, upon Affairs of the utmoſt Conſequence to the Publick.

De Re communi Scribæ, magna atque nova Te
Orabant hodie meminiſſes, Quinte, reverti.

There ſeems at this Time to have been ſome Deſign of making him *Secretary of State*, from that noted Paſſage in a Letter from *Auguſtus* to *Mecænas*, *Veniet igitur & nos in ſcribendis Epiſtolis adjuvabit*; but he never attained to this Employment, which is imputed to his extreme *Modeſty*.

Theſe

Theſe are the moſt remarkable Paſſages I can recollect of that moſt *elegant Oration*, pronounced on *Wedneſday* laſt by Mr. *Henly*. His Action, which *Demoſthenes* ſays is the chief Part of an Orator, was extremely juſt and proper, and added a Grace and Dignity to all he utter'd. Such was the Modulation of his Voice, that it inchanted our Ears, and ſeem'd more like Muſick than Speaking!—How laudable is it to ſee Mr. *Henly* chuſing to employ his Talents in Praiſes and Commendations of the *great Men of Antiquity*, rather than meanly ſtooping to flatter Thoſe of the *preſent Age*; but though he will not flatter them, he ſcorns (however provok'd) to attack them by any indirect or oblique Strokes of Satire, as moſt evidently appears by the foregoing Diſcourſe.

The Application of Paſſages of the *Roman* Story to our Times is become ſo common and trite a Way of ſatirizing the Perſons of the preſent Age, that no Man, who has a tolerable Genius, or the leaſt Invention of his own, will condeſcend to do it. How eaſy is it to turn over *Tully*, *Tacitus*, or *Livy*, and when you have found a good ſtrong Sentence or two upon *Corruption*, to inſert it in any Paper? The Author need never be at the Trouble to make the Application. Every Child in the Street knows well enough upon whom to fix it. I ſhould be glad therefore if what I have ſaid would put an End to ſuch pitiful Ribaldry; and if I can perſuade Thoſe, who have Talents, to give great Men their Deſerts, as Mr. *Henly* has now done, I ſhall have gained my End. *C.*

I am, SIR, &c.

Friday,

N° 8. *Friday, December* 30.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, *Esq;*

'NEC *invideamus altius ſtantibus. Quæ excelſa* 'videbantur *prærupta ſunt. Illi rurſus, quos* 'Sors *iniqua in* Anciptiti *poſuit, tutiores erunt ſuperbi-* 'am *detrahendo rebus per ſe ſuperbis & fortunam ſuam,* 'quam *maxime poterunt, in planum deferendo. Multi* 'quidem *ſunt, quibus* neceſſario *hærendum ſit in faſti-* 'gio *ſuo; ex quo non poſſunt niſi* cadendo *deſcendere.* 'Sed *hoc ipſum teſtentur, maximum onus ſuum eſſe, quod* 'aliis *graves eſſe cogantur; nec* ſublevatos *ſe, ſed* ſuf-' fixos. *Juſtitia, manſuetudine, humana lege, & be-* 'nigna *manu, præſtarent multa ad ſequiores caſus præ-* 'ſidia, *quorum ſpe ſecurius pendeant. Nibil tamen* 'æque *hos, ab his animi fluctibus, vindicaverit, quam* 'ſemper *aliquem* incrementis *terminum figere; nec for-* 'tunæ *arbitrium deſinendi dare, ſed ſeipſos, multo qui-* 'dem *citra* extrema, *hortentur conſiſtere.*

Sen. de Tran. Animi.

SIR,

THIS Paſſage deſerves a Place at the Head of one of your Papers; ſince there is hardly any Thing to be found among the Antients or the Moderns more proper to be recommended to the ſerious Conſideration of all *State Craftſmen*; and ſince, of all *Craftſmen*, Theſe appear to me to ſtand moſt in need of your friendly Aſſiſtance. Men are generally apply'd to other Buſineſs, according to their Talents; and if they do not excel in their Profeſſions, they do not thrive in them. But the Caſe is very often not the ſame amongſt Thoſe, who govern

govern the great Affairs of the World. *Secretaries* often want to be taught to *write*; *Preſidents* to *ſpeak*; and *Miniſters*, intruſted with the Management of the Publick Revenue, to forbear *plundering* and *ſtock-Jobbing*.

Our *preſent Miniſters* indeed are happily choſen; and the wonderful *Succeſs* of their *Adminiſtration* is a ſufficient Proof of their *Ability*. But, Mr. *D'Anvers*, your Cares are not confined to the preſent Age. You look forward to Poſterity, and are ſolicitous even for the Good of future Generations. Your candid Readers will, no doubt, apply what falls from your Pen in a right Manner, and will do you the Juſtice to believe, that whenever you chaſtiſe the Vices, or expoſe the Follies of *Miniſters* in general, you intend a Leſſon to Miniſters, yet unborn. No one can ſuppoſe, that you deſign to aſperſe the *untainted Characters*, or to inform the *conſummate Wiſdom* of Thoſe, who govern us at this Time; for whoſe Service it is evident to the moſt common Underſtandings that your Papers are intended.

I have aim'd, it muſt be confeſs'd, at the Rank of an *Author*; but finding myſelf unable to ſuſtain ſo great a Character, I have, wiſely enough, reduced my Ambition into more narrow Bounds, and profeſs myſelf an humble *Hinter*. Happy would it be for Mankind, Mr. *D'Anvers*, if every Body copied, at leaſt in this Inſtance, after my Example; or if Thoſe, who have the Power of doing it, proportion'd the Parts they aſſign to the Talents they diſcover. What a ſhifting of Parts; what a Change in the Scene would immediately follow? How low would ſome Men fall? How high would others riſe? *Robin* would decline ſitting in your *Coach Box*; or you would force him to get up behind. Let my Modeſty, Sir, beſpeak your Favour to me; and be aſſured that I will attend and ſerve you, in the Duty of my Profeſſion, with Induſtry and Fidelity, if you make ſuch an Uſe of my firſt Endea-

Endeavours, as I have Reaſon to expect, from that flow of Style; from that good Senſe; and from that true Spirit, which appear in Your Papers.

I fancy you will obſerve that Thoſe, who are in the *firſt Claſs*, mention'd by *Seneca*, never fail of being in the *ſecond*; for a great *Elevation* is always expoſed to great *Danger*, and therefore to great *Anxiety*. You will ſhew, perhaps, how little ſuch Men regard the wiſe Advice of the Tutor of *Nero*; or, to give our *Stoick* a more honourable Title, of the Companion and Friend of *Burrhus*; for I dare not call him the Correſpondent of St. *Paul*. You will laugh, no doubt, at the Parade they make of That, which they ought to conceal; at the ſilly Pains they take, in exerting their Power, or ſpending their Riches, to encreaſe the Indignation, which Mankind juſtly conceive at the *Manner*, by which they acquired both *one* and the *other*.

To illuſtrate theſe Truths, I would have you, for ſome Reaſons, deſcend no lower than Cardinal *Wolſey*. This *ſaucy Miniſter*, who, by the way, could never get rid of the ſcoundrel Habits of a *low Education*, had ſome *Knowledge*, more *Wit*, and much more *Impudence*. The Fortune he made was equally exorbitant and rapid. The Uſe he made of this Fortune was extravagant and oſtentatious to the higheſt Degree. He ſeem'd induſtrious to erect Trophies of his *Folly*, and to furniſh Proofs of his *Rapine* wherever he went. He adorn'd *Villas*. He built *Palaces*; and his Train out-ſhone his *Maſter's* ſo much, that when he retir'd into the Country, on a Party of Pleaſure, the Court became deſart. Even *foreign Miniſters* attended on him, and found their Account in it; for he had ever ſome Intereſt ſeparate from that of his Country. He was zealous for the *Emperor*; zealous for *France*; and zealous for the Court of *Rome*, in their Turns; and, notwithſtanding his Parts, he was the *Bubble* of them all.

This:

This little Sketch of Cardinal *Wolſey*'s Fortune deſcribes a Man placed in that elevated State, which is the *laſt* of the three mention'd by *Seneca*; and from whence no Man can *deſcend* without *falling*. Theſe Falls might be ſoften'd indeed; and the Means of doing it are finely touched in the *Latin* Author. They will, I doubt not, be as delicately and as ſtrongly expreſſed in your *Engliſh*. But the *giddy Creatures* do the very reverſe. Inſtead of ſtopping, when their Heads begin to turn, they try to clamber ſtill higher; and every Step they take for Security, enhances their Guilt, and precipitates their Ruin. Unworthy of Love or Eſteem, they have recourſe to the two ſole Expedients, which remain, *Fear* and *Corruption*. By *one* they exaſperate Mankind; and whilſt they render their Enemies more *cautious*, they render them more *dangerous*. By the *other* they aſſemble a Number of *falſe Friends*, who encumber their *Proſperity*, and afford them no Support in the *great and terrible Day of Adverſity*. I begin to warm myſelf, and am in danger of ſwelling this Letter up to the Size of a two-penny Half-Sheet; which being abſolutely forbidden, by one of the fundamental Rules of our Profeſſion, I take my Leave of you till next Week, and am, dear Mr. *D'Anvers*, C

Your faithful, humble Servant,

Dec. 26. 1726. JACK HINTER.

I AM very much obliged to the Writer of this excellent Letter, whoſe *Hints* only are of more Importance than the laborious unmeaning Diſcourſes of ſeveral Authors, or the tedious Harangues of ſome frothy Orators. I hope the Publick will excuſe my printing thoſe undeſerved Compliments on myſelf, which nothing ſhould have prevailed on me to do, (as common a Practice as it is amongſt all my *Brother-Authors*,) but my Unwillingneſs to ſuppreſs any Thing,

Thing, which comes from ſo valuable a Correſpondent. Were I a young Man indeed, and fond of the vain Reputation of an Author, ſuch Commendations would be apt to elate me too much with an Opinion of my own Parts; but there can be little Danger of this in One, who does not write from any ſuch Motives, but from a ſincere Zeal for the Honour of his King, and the Welfare of his Country; which I can aſſure this Gentleman are the ſole Ends of my preſent Undertaking; and for that Reaſon, I ſhall be very proud of his future Aſſiſtance.

Gray's-Inn,
Dec. 26. 1726. CALEB D'ANVERS.

N° 9. *Monday, January* 2.

Præſenti TIBI *maturos largimur honores,*
Jurandaſque tuum per nomen ponimus aras,
Nil oriturum *alias, nil* ortum *tale fatentes.* HOR.

THERE is nothing, in which the Generality of Mankind are ſo apt to be miſtaken, as in their Opinion of *great Men.* They commonly judge by the outſide; and where they ſee Power, Riches, and Splendor, they haſtily conclude, that there muſt be great Parts and Abilities in Proportion. As for Honeſty, it is quite out of the Queſtion; for even the vulgar Herd know better than to look for that Qualification in a modern *great Man.* But moſt Perſons, who have not been much converſant in publick Affairs, entertain a better Opinion of their Superiors than they generally deſerve. They imagine

imagine them, at leaſt, to be Men of extraordinary Capacities, whatever their moral Principles may be; and think it impoſſible for any Perſon to ſit long at the Helm, and influence large Dominions, who is not endowed with uncommon Sagacity, Penetration, Experience, and the moſt extenſive Knowledge of all *domeſtick* and *foreign* Affairs.

However requiſite to ſuch a Poſt theſe Talents may be, yet if we look round *Europe*, I believe we ſhall find that too many *great Men*, in all Courts, are not fully qualified in theſe reſpects. I am afraid it will appear that *ſome* owe their Grandeur to pimping, informing, or the Intereſt of a Court Miſtreſs; *others* to the Weakneſs or Vices of a Prince, whom they flatter and indulge in his Pleaſures; that *ſome* riſe by doing dirty Jobs for a *great Miniſter*, and ſcreening him, in diſtreſs, from the Reſentments of a People, whom he has injured and provoked; *ſome* by the Influence of over-grown Companies, or the Strength of powerful Alliances; nor ſhall we want Inſtances of *others*, whoſe Ignorance and Incapacity for publick Buſineſs have been their only Recommendations. In ſhort, we ſhall obſerve, upon a ſtrict Survey of the Riſe of *great Men*, that ſometimes Chance, and ſeveral unaccountable Accidents, as the Death or Fall of great Competitors; ſometimes the Power, Caprice, and Obſtinacy of a Faction, or the Indolence, Inactivity, or bad Deſigns of a Prince, are the chief Inſtruments of their Advancement; and we ſhall ſeldom find it owing to thoſe uſeful and valuable Endowments, which are neceſſary to conſtitute a truly *great Man*.

In thoſe refined Ages, indeed, and in thoſe Countries, where almoſt every thing is managed by the Force of *Money*, (as it was in the Court of *France* during the laſt War) there does not ſeem to be that Neceſſity for great Accompliſhments, which there was when the Fate of *Europe* depended on the ge-

naine Strength and Vigour of national Conſtitutions; or on the Wiſdom, Experience, and Sagacity of publick Miniſters. For this Reaſon, a Man might make a great Figure in *Politicks*, at that Court, with half the Abilities, which *Walſingham* or *Burleigh* could do here in their Times, who thought fit to ſteer their Adminiſtration by well-weighed Counſels and Integrity, inſtead of exorbitant Penſions and Bribes; and ſaved the Nation immenſe Sums of Money by the Application of *wiſe Heads* in Conjunction with *incorrupt Hearts*.

The Character of a *great Man* was not to be acquired, in thoſe Times, by underſtanding the paltry Buſineſs of a *Money-Scrivener*, or a *Stock-jobber*; by a Skill in Uſury, Brokage, and the Tricks of *Exchange-Alley*; or by colloguing with certain *great Bodies* of Men, in order to defraud, bubble, and beggar the reſt of the Nation; not by ſuborning falſe Judgment, and hiring Men to proſtitute their Conſciences for ſordid Lucre. Neither was it, in thoſe Times, thought to conſiſt wholly in the Flowers of *Rhetorick*, and a certain Knack of *Haranguing* in publick; eſpecially in ſtudying the *Foibles* of Mankind, and applying to *thoſe Parts*, which are always moſt open to Deception. I do not mention This, from any Contempt of that excellent Endowment; or to derogate, in the leaſt, from Thoſe, who are happily poſſeſſed of it; but only to ſhew that *Oratory* and *Elocution* are not abſolutely neceſſary to the Character of a *great Man*; much leſs that they are the *only Qualifications* requiſite to form a *Prime Miniſter*; who, inſtead of poſſeſſing theſe *Quack* Endowments, ought to be a Man of great Knowledge, Depth, and Penetration in publick Affairs. He ſhould be perfectly acquainted with the *political State*, not only of his own Country, but likewiſe of all *Europe*; with the Intereſt, Projects, and Views of foreign Courts; with the Arts of Peace and War; with a deep

deep and maſterly Comprehenſion of Schemes, Treaties, and Negotiations; a piercing Foreſight into future Events, and a ſolid Judgment of preſent Occurrences; and, to crown all, with a cool deliberating Head, and a ſtedfaſt, unſhaken Reſolution, to act, upon all Occaſions, as it ſhall ſeem to be moſt for his Maſter's Service, and the Intereſt and Honour of his native Country.

I could wiſh that all Men in *Power* and *Favour*, or Thoſe, who are in the way of being ſo, would give themſelves the Trouble of reading a Letter, ſuppoſed to be written by Sir *Francis Bacon* to Sir *George Villars*, Duke of *Buckingham*, at that Time the great Favourite of King *James* I. in which they will find ſome excellent Directions for the Behaviour of Perſons in that high Condition, delivered with ſuch a noble Spirit of Freedom, Boldneſs, and Simplicity, as became the Pen of that excellent Perſon. This Letter may be ſeen in a Book, call'd *Cabala*, and is well worth every Man's Peruſal; but it being, at preſent, grown pretty ſcarce, I will anticipate the Reader's Pleaſure with ſome remarkable Extracts out of it.

He begins with an Apology for undertaking ſuch a Task; by aſſuring him that he is no *Courtier*, nor verſed in *State Matters*; and, indeed, his Advice ſeems very extraordinary, at this Diſtance, to a Man in ſuch a Station; for, through the whole Courſe of his Letter, He recommends Perſons of *Ability*, *Knowledge*, and *Integrity* to his particular Notice and Diſtinction, as the *fitteſt Perſons* to fill up all the *great Offices* of the Kingdom. He forewarns him to avoid *Flattery* himſelf, and to diſcountenance it in others; talks of *Juſtice*, *Learning*, and *Merit* with a very high Air; and ſeems to conclude, that the *Good of his Country*, and the *true Intereſt* of his Prince ought to be the principal Views of every *great Man*; which, as romantick as they may ſeem, were not

altogether unfaſhionable Topicks in the good old Days of Queen *Elizabeth*; a Reign, which our Author preſumes to lay down as a Pattern to all ſucceeding Princes.

He begins with the CHURCH in this manner. "The *Archbiſhops* and *Biſhops*, next under "the King, have the Government of the Church "and eccleſiaſtical Affairs. Be not *You* the Mean to "prefer any to thoſe Places for any *By-reſpects*; but "only for their *Learning*, *Gravity*, and *Worth*. Their "*Lives* and *Doctrines* ought to be exemplary.

"You will, *ſays he*, be often ſollicited, and per-"haps importuned to preſer Scholars to Church-"Livings. You may further your *Friends* in that "Way, *cæteris paribus*. Otherwiſe, remember, I "pray, that Theſe are not Places merely of *Favour*: "The Charge of Souls lies upon them; the greateſt "Account whereof will be required at their *own* "*Hands*; but *They* will ſhare deeply in their Faults, "who are the *Inſtruments* of their Preferments."

He next proceeds to the LAW; of which he ſpeaks thus. "Let the Rule of Juſtice be the *Laws* "of the Land; an impartial Arbiter between the "*King* and his *People*, and between one Subject and "another." *Again*,

"As far as it may lie in you, let no *arbitrary* "*Power* be intruded. The People of this Kingdom "love the *Laws* thereof; and nothing will oblige "them more, than a *Confidence* of the free enjoying "of them. What the *Nobles*, upon an Occaſion, "once ſaid in Parliament, *nolumus leges Angliæ mu-*"*tari*, is imprinted in the *Hearts* of all the People." *He goes on thus.*

"But becauſe the *Life* of the Laws lies in the due "Execution and Adminiſtration of them, let your "Eye be, in the firſt place, upon the Choice of *good* "*Judges*. Theſe Properties had They need to be "furniſhed with; to be *learned* in their Profeſſion; "*patient*

" *patient* in hearing; *prudent* in governing; *power-*
" *ful* in their Elocution to perſuade and ſatisfy both
" the Parties and Hearers; *juſt* in their Judgment;
" and, to ſum up all, They muſt have three Attri-
" butes; they muſt be Men of *Courage*, fearing *God*,
" and hating *Covetouſneſs*. An *ignorant* Man can-
" not, a *Coward* dares not be a *good Judge*.

" By no means, *ſays he*, be you perſuaded to *inter-*
" *poſe* yourſelf, either by Word or Letter, in any
" Cauſe depending, or like to be depending in *any*
" Court of Juſtice; nor ſuffer any other great Man
" to do it, where you can hinder it; and by all
" means diſſwade the King himſelf from it, upon the
" Importunity of *any*, for Themſelves, or their
" Friends. If it ſhould prevail, it perverts Juſtice.
" If the *Judge* be ſo juſt, and of ſuch Courage (as he
" ought to be) as not to be inclined thereby; yet it
" always leaves a Taint of Suſpicion behind it.
" Judges muſt be as chaſte as *Cæſar*'s Wife, neither
" to be, nor to be ſuſpected to be, unjuſt; and, *Sir*,
" the Honour of the *Judges*, in their Judicature, is
" the King's Honour, whoſe Perſon they repreſent."

Concerning PARLIAMENTS he ſpeaks thus. " The
" true Uſe of *Parliaments*, in this Kingdom, is very
" excellent; and they ſhould be *often* called, as Af-
" fairs of the Kingdom ſhall require; and continued as
" long as is neceſſary, and no longer; for *then*, they
" will be but *Burthens* to the People, by reaſon of
" the PRIVILEGES, juſtly due to the Members of the
" Two Houſes and their Attendants; which their
" juſt Rights and Privileges are religiouſly to be ob-
" ſerved and maintained."

He goes on thus. " For the great *Offices* and *Of-*
" *ficers* of the Kingdom, I ſhall ſay little—Only, in
" the general, I adviſe This. Let them be ſet in
" *thoſe Places*, for which they are probably the *moſt*
" *fit*.

As to EMBASSIES, *ſays he*,—" I will tell you

" what was the Cuſtom in the happy Days of Queen
" *Elizabeth*; whom, it will be no Diſreputation to
" follow. She did *vary*, according to the *Nature* of
" the Employment, the *Quality* of the Perſons ſhe
" employed; which is a good Rule to go by.

" If it was an *Embaſſy* of *Gratulation* or *Ceremony*,
" choice was made of ſome *noble Perſon*, eminent in
" *Place*, and able in Purſe; and he would take it as
" a Mark of *Favour*, and diſcharge it without any
" great *Burthen* to the Queen's Coffers, for his own
" *Honour*'s Sake.

" But if it were an *Embaſſy* of *Weight*, concern-
" ing Affairs of STATE, choice was made of ſome
" ſad Perſon, of *known Judgment*, *Wiſdom*, and *Ex-*
" *perience*; and not of a *young Man*, nor *wayed in*
" *State-Matters*, nor of a *meer formal Man*, whatſo-
" ever his *Title* or *Outſide* were.

" If *Legier* AMBASSADORS or AGENTS were ſent
" to remain in or near the Courts of thoſe Princes
" or States, (as it was ever held fit to obſerve the
" Motions, and to hold Correſpondency with them
" upon all Occaſions,) *ſuch* were made choice of as
" were preſumed to be *vigilant*, *induſtrious*, and
" *diſcreet*; and had the *Language* (*and, I believe, I*
" *may add, could adapt themſelves to the* MANNERS)
" of the *Places* whither they were ſent."

Concerning WAR, he declares himſelf in this manner: " *Wars* are either *foreign* or *civil*. For the
" *foreign War* by the King upon ſome neighbouring
" Nation, I hope we are *ſecure*. The King, in his
" pious and juſt Diſpoſition, is not inclinable there-
" unto. His Empire is long enough, bounded with
" the *Ocean*; as if the very *Situation* thereof had
" taught the King and People to ſet up their *Reſts*,
" and ſay, *ne plus ultra*."

On a *civil War*, or *Rebellion*, and the Suppreſſion of them, he makes this Obſervation. " If God ſhall
" bleſs theſe Endeavours, and the King return to his

" own

" own Houſe in *Peace*, when a *civil War* ſhall be at " an end; *Thoſe*, who have been found *faithful* in " the Land, muſt be *regarded*; yea, and *rewarded* " alſo; the *traiterous* or *treacherous*, who have *miſled* " *others*, ſeverely puniſhed; and the *Neutrals*, or " *falſe-hearted Friends* and *Followers*, who have ſtar- " ted aſide, like a *broken Bow*, be noted *carbone ni-* " *gro*."

He concludes thus. " I have but one Thing more " to mind you of. You ſerve a great and gracious " Maſter; and there is a moſt hopeful young Prince, " whom you muſt not *deſert*. It behoves you to " carry yourſelf *wiſely* and *evenly* between them " both. Adore not ſo the *riſing Son*, that you for- " get the *Father*, who raiſed you to this Height; " nor be you ſo obſequious to the *Father*, that you " give juſt Cauſe to the *Son* to ſuſpect that you *neg-* " *lect* him." *D.*

N° 10. *Friday, January 6.*

Et tenuit noſtras numeroſus HORATIUS *aures.* Ovid.

I SHALL always have the greateſt Reſpect for the Family of the SHALLOWS, whom I have Reaſon to look upon as *riſing Men*; ſeveral of them having already diſtinguiſhed themſelves as the greateſt *Ornaments* and *Supports* of their Country, both in *Church* and *State*. For this Reaſon I cannot poſtpone the following Letter; eſpecially ſince I am reſolved to preſerve the utmoſt Impartiality in this Undertaking, and was unwarily impoſed on by a *former Letter*, which I am inclined to believe,

upon.

upon maturer Thoughts, to be very disingenuous, and heartily wish that it had not obtained a Place in this Paper; but I hope the *learned Divine*, who may be prejudiced by it, will accept of this Apology, and have the Candour to excuse the Inadvertency of an *old Man*, who is ready to make him all the Reparation in his Power, by publishing the following Letter in his Defence.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, *Esq;*

SIR,

AS you have published a Letter containing some Account of the Life of HORACE, said to be delivered by the famous Mr. *Henly*, in his academical Oration on *Wednesday* the 21st of last Month, I hope you will pay the same Regard to This, which comes from one of his constant *Hearers*, and is design'd to vindicate our *modern Orator* from the Imputation of several Passages, which seem very injurious to his Character, as well as to the Memory of that *antient Poet*.

Your Correspondent begins with a just Commendation of that *ingenious Divine*; whose Institution he allows to be an *useful Undertaking*; but from the Manner, in which he has represented that learned Entertainment, I cannot help concluding, and must take the Freedom to declare, that either the *Letter-writer* entirely misunderstood Mr. *Henly*, or that he had some secret ill Intention of prejudicing the Town against his *Orations*.

This Writer, in his Character of HORACE, observes that he calls himself *Epicuri de grege Porcum*, i. e. literally translated, *a Swine of Epicurus's Herd*; from whence he makes Mr. *Henly* infer, that He was somewhat *fat*, and very *dirty*; whereas This is only a *metaphorical* Expression; and in the Use of *Metaphors* an Author is not obliged to include all the

the Properties of the Thing, from whence he takes it; as it would be eaſy to prove from numberleſs Inſtances out of the beſt Writers, antient and modern. That *Horace* was *fat*, we have his own Word, and the Confirmation of ſeveral Writers; but that he was *dirty*, is not any where confeſſed by Himſelf, nor charged againſt him by others; nor did Mr. *Henly* mention any ſuch thing. This Expreſſion therefore ought to be underſtood ſo, as to denote the *Fatneſs* only, and not the *Filthineſs* of the *Swine*.

The Charge of *Horace*'s *Dirtineſs* is farther urged from this Paſſage.

——— *Non ego paucis*
Offendar Maculis ———

which every School-boy knows to be alſo a *metaphorical* Expreſſion; and that it alludes to *Inaccuracies* of *Stile* and not to any Want of Delicacy in *Dreſs*; yet your Correſpondent makes Mr. *Henly* affirm, *that from theſe two Paſſages it is manifeſt that* Horace *was little better than a Sloven*; whereas I muſt inſiſt on it that he ſaid no ſuch thing; as indeed he ſeems to have no Manner of Foundation to do; ſince in the Line immediately before That, quoted to prove him a *Sloven*, he deſcribes himſelf in the Figure of a BEAU.

Me pinguem & nitidum, bene curata cute, viſes.

I am ready to grant that *Horace*'s Fortune was originally very *ſmall*; and that he had increaſed it conſiderably, as Mr. *Henly* obſerved and proved, not only from the Paſſage quoted by this Writer, but alſo from the following one.

——— natum *& in tenui Re*
Majores pennas nido extendiſſe loqueris.

The

Tho' my paternal Eſtate was very inconſiderable, yet by a laudable Ambition I have made very great Additions to it.

But Mr. *Henly* did HORACE the Juſtice to obſerve, that what he wanted by *Inheritance*, he made up in *Virtue*.

Ut quantum generi demas, virtutibus addas.

which this Letter-writer has, I am afraid, *purpoſely* omitted.

I muſt likewiſe agree with him, that *Horace* was very *cholerick*, as he acknowledges himſelf; but with this Alleviation, that he was *eaſy* to be *reconciled*; of which likewiſe your Correſpondent takes no Notice.

Iraſci *celerem, tamen ut* placabilis *eſſem.*

But I am perfectly aſtoniſhed at this Writer's Aſſertion, that *Horace* married a Woman of *Lombardy*; which he fathers upon the learned *Hainſius* and Mr. *Henly*; neither of whom, to my certain Knowledge, ever aſſerted any ſuch thing; nor does *Horace* himſelf, as free as he is in relating all the other Particulars of his Life, take the leaſt Notice of this Circumſtance.

I cannot undertake to vindicate his *Morals*; which, from many of his Writings, appear to be *lewd* and *obſcene*. It is very probable, as your Correſpondent obſerves, that he uſed to divert Perſons of Diſtinction, now and then, with inditing and ſinging *ſmutty Catches*; but I'll be anſwerable for his good Senſe ſo far as to declare, that if he were to live in *England*, and ſee his fine Ode to *Neæra* ſet to the wretched Tune of *Joan Glover*, he would not offer to entertain any Perſons of Paſſion, eſpecially *Ladies of the*

firſt

firſt Quality, with ſuch *bare-faced* and *ſtupid Ribaldry*.

The next Charge againſt him, of being *covetous*, ſeems to be equally unjuſt; for, if we may take his own Word for it, as I am willing to do, he plainly inſinuates the contrary, where he ſays,

Si neque Avaritiam neque Sordes, ac mala luſtra
Objiciet vere quiſquam mihi ——

If no Man can juſtly tax me with Avarice, *and a* ſordid, niggardly Spirit, &c.

Mr. *Henly* took Notice of This, and obſerved, that his Invitation of *Mecænas* to a poor Supper (which is the only Proof this Author brings for *Horace*'s *Covetouſneſs*) is only an Inſtance of his great *Modeſty*; and, as that *learned Orator* remarked, he had himſelf often met with an elegant Entertainment, where he was invited only to a Piece of *Mutton*.

Having given this Account of *Horace*'s private Life, he proceeds to the Figure, which he made in Publick; and tells us, that his firſt Appearance was under *Brutus*, in the Character of *Tribunus Militum*; which the *Letter-writer*, in a moſt unaccountable Manner, tranſlates, *Exempt of the Beef-Eaters*; an Order of Soldiery, which was never known in the *Roman* Commonwealth, nor in any other Nation, I believe, unleſs in our own happy Country of *Great Britain*.

The next Poſt, ſays he, that *Horace* enjoyed, was *Scriba Queſtorius*; called by Madam *Dacier*, *Secretaire de l'Epargne*; which, ſtrictly tranſlated, is *Secretary of* THRIFT and FRUGALITY; but it is by this Author unhappily render'd *Secretary of the* TREASURY; between which, I preſume, there is ſome Difference in moſt Countries.

After

After this, ſays he, *Aſinius Pollio* aſſures us, that he was ſent Ambaſſador to *Gaul*.

Legatus apud Gallos *miſſus fuit*, Man-lio & Daïio *Conſulibus*.

I wiſh the *Letter-writer* had been pleaſed to acquaint us where he diſcovered any of *Aſinius Pollio*'s Writings; which are generally ſuppoſed to have been long ſince extinct. Neither do I remember, in all my reading, to have met with the leaſt Mention of *Horace*'s being ſent Ambaſſador to *Gaul*; nor can I find, upon the ſtricteſt Examination of the *Faſti Conſulares*, any ſuch *Conſulſhip* as that of *Man-lius & Daiius*.

He goes on to tell us that, during his Stay at this Court, he grew ſomewhat *cleaner* and *ſprucer*, and apply'd himſelf to the *Knowledge of Men and Manners*; to which End, he has wreſted a Paſſage in *Quintilian*; which, in the Original, is as little to his Purpoſe as any of thoſe before-mentioned.

He concludes this extraordinary Account with telling us that, about this Time, there ſeems to have been ſome Deſign of making him *Secretary of State*; but that he never attained to this Employment, which is imputed to his *extreme Modeſty*; whereas, I believe your Correſpondent is the only Perſon that ever heard of any ſuch Deſign; and I have ſo great an Opinion of *Horace*'s *Modeſty*, that I am perſuaded he could never be guilty of ſo ridiculous an Ambition; for he ſeems, through his whole Works, to be fully ſatisfied with the Honour of being admitted into the Favour and Converſation of *Auguſtus* and his *chief Favourites*, whom he uſed to divert with his inimitable *Wit* and *Pleaſantry*; being, as this Author juſtly obſerves, a very *comical, little, laughing Fellow*; but he knew his own Intereſt better, than to hazard the Loſs of their good Opinion, and become the Jeſt

of the whole Court, by aſpiring to an *Employment*, for which he knew himſelf to be utterly unqualified.

I hope, Sir, that theſe few Remarks will convince you how much this *Letter-writer* has injured our *celebrated Orator* by ſuch an unjuſt Repreſentation of his *ingenious Entertainment*; which muſt be owing either to his Inattention, or an unfriendly Deſign of diſcrediting that *uſeful Inſtitution*, notwithſtanding his fair Profeſſions to the contrary; for I cannot poſſibly impute it to any other Cauſe. I am, Sir,

Your humble Servant,

N. TIM. SHALLOW.

ADVERTISEMENT.

Invented and made only by Solomon Porch, *at the Sign of the* great Chair *in* Weſtminſter, *the true* political Perſpective, *which encreaſes or diminiſhes any Object at pleaſure. This Inſtrument, it is hoped, may be of great Service in all publick Affairs; it being made large enough for ſeveral hundred Perſons to look through at once. By turning one End of it,* Dangers *may be magnified and ſeen imminent. By turning the other,* Debts *may be leſſened and removed to a greater Diſtance. It is very uſeful at Sea, to diſcover* Invaſions *before they are intended; and by its multiplying Quality, can, if thought neceſſary, make two or three ſmall Ships appear like a* large Fleet. *Where* Spectacles *may be alſo had for the true reading any* Treaty, Memorial, Foreign *or* Engliſh *News, or any other publick Paper whatſoever.*

Beware of Pretenders, *for ſuch are abroad.*

N° 11. *Monday, January* 9.

Criminibus debent Hortos, Prætoria, Menſas,
Argentum Vetus, & ſtantem extra Pocula Caprum.
Juv.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, *Eſq;*

SIR,

THOUGH the Reflections of one of your Correſpondents, who ſubſcribes himſelf *Mercator*, on ſome *Frauds* lately diſcover'd at an *Eaſt-India* Sale, are very juſt in the main; yet I muſt take the Liberty to except againſt an Inference or two, which he has drawn from them, and beg Leave to add ſome farther Obſervations on that Subject.

I am fully of this Gentleman's Opinion, *That the utmoſt Care ought to be taken that no* Corruptions *and* Abuſes *ſhould be admitted into* Trading Companies; *or, ſince the beſt Precautions are often vain, that they ſhould never eſcape with* Impunity, *when diſcover'd.* How far the Caſe of Mr. *Eccleſtone* may fall under this Head, and his Practices be ſubject to an Imputation of *Fraud*, I ſhall leave the World to determine, from the Complaint of *thoſe Perſons*, who are ſuppoſed to be injured by them, and the Proceedings of the *general Court* of the *Eaſt-India Company*, as well as from that Account, which has been made publick in the *Whitehall Evening Poſt*; together with your Correſpondent's Obſervations upon it.

But

But I can by no means agree with this Gentleman, *that we are now obliged to ſuppoſe* Mr. Eccleſtone *entirely innocent*, from the Reſolutions, which were taken in that Aſſembly; which ended only in an *Adjournment* of the Queſtion, *ſine Die, whether he was guilty or not*; to which peculiar Method of Proceeding they were induced, no doubt, by very good Reaſons; for had his *Caſe* been as *clear*, or his *Defence* as *full*, as the Author of that Paper ſeems to repreſent it, the Buſineſs of the Day would, in all Probability, have concluded in an unanimous Vote of his *Innocence*, inſtead of ſuch an extraordinary *Suſpenſion* of their Judgment; which leaves the Affair of his Conduct totally *undecided*, juſt as they found it, when they firſt met together.

Whether the Examination of this Matter is ever to be reſumed either by the *ſame Aſſembly*, or by ſome *higher Power*, I cannot pretend to determine; but I will be free to declare, with your Correſpondent, that it is abſolutely neceſſary, for the full Juſtification of the *Company*, as well as Mr. *Eccleſtone*, that a Point of ſuch Conſequence to all *fair Traders* ſhould have ſome farther Enquiry made into it; eſpecially at this Juncture, when we ſeem to be in no ſmall Danger of being involved in an *expenſive War*, in order to ſupport that particular Branch of Commerce.

The Reaſons for this will ſtill appear much ſtronger, if it be true (as I have often heard it aſſerted) that Mr. *Eccleſtone* himſelf, in his *Defence*, as it is called, did not pretend fully to *juſtify* his own Conduct; but, on the contrary, ſeem'd to acknowledge that he had been led by *bad Precedents*, together with the *Frailties* and *Infirmities* of human Nature, into ſome Practices, which, upon ſerious Reflection, he found Reaſon to repent of; and that he had been unhappily guilty of ſome *Miſtakes* and *Neglect* in the Duty of his Office, as well as the poor *Warehouſe-Keeper*; in Extenuation of which, I am told, that he deſired

to look back to his *former Behaviour*; and hoped, if they had, at any Time, found him uſeful to *Trade*, or inſtrumental in the Service of the *Company*, that they would overlook this *Miſcarriage* and indulge him for once, in the *Frailties* of his Nature.

I am very unwilling, on any Account, to interpoſe myſelf between *unhappy Men* and *Mercy*; eſpecially ſince we are informed, by a late *Courant*, that ſome Perſons concerned in the Management of the *Oſtend* Company, who are ſubject, it ſeems, to the ſame *Infirmities*, and have been guilty of ſuch kind of *Miſtakes* and *Neglect* in their Duty, have met with the like Lenity; tho' ſuch Indulgences are inconſiſtent with the antient Politicks of thoſe Countries; for Sir *William Temple* informs us, *that the great* Trade *of the* Netherlands *was formerly owing to nothing more than to the Exactneſs* of *their* Regulations, *and to the* Severity of their Juſtice *againſt every Abuſe in it*. And as to the Caſe of *former Merit and Services*, the great Earl of *Clarendon* tells us, in his Speech againſt the *corrupt Judges* in King *Charles* the *Firſt*'s Reign, when he carried up an *Impeachment* againſt them to the Houſe of Lords, *that if they appeared to their Lordſhips under the Reputation of* Prudence *and* Integrity, *in all Caſes, except* Theſe *preſented to them, Their Lordſhips would be at leaſt of the ſame Opinion, that He of* Lacedæmon *was of the* Athenians. *If they carried themſelves* well, *when Time was, and now* ill, *they deſerve a double Puniſhment; becauſe they are* not good, *as they were, and becauſe they are* evil, *as they were not*.

However, it is to be wiſhed (and I hope not to be doubted) that whatever *Lenity* may be thought proper to be uſed towards theſe *unhappy Men*, it will in no manner impede the *ſtricteſt Enquiry* into the Bottom of this Affair, in order to prevent, for the future, the like *Infirmities*, *Miſtakes*, and *Neglect*; and *whenſoever* or *whereſoever* this ſeaſonable Enquiry ſhall be made,

made, I think it cannot be improper that the following *Queries* (which I have heard often put in private Converſation) ſhould alſo be conſidered, *viz.*

Q. I. Whether the *Governors* and principal Perſons in their *Factories* abroad do not generally raiſe very great Eſtates; which may ſometimes be made by divers unwarrantable Practices, and the Oppreſſion of the *Merchants* in thoſe Countries, to the Prejudice of the Intereſt of their Maſters in *England*.

Q. II. Whether their *Super-Cargoes* to *China*, (where the Company have no ſettled *Factory*) being inveſted with a full Power to diſpoſe of the whole Cargoes of their reſpective Ships, and lay out the Produce of them in the Goods of the Country, do not ſometimes put off great Quantities of *Silver* upon the Account of *Themſelves* and ſome particular *powerful Men*, at double or treble the *Market Price*, to the manifeſt Damage of the *Company*; the *Purchaſers* of ſuch *Silver* finding their Recompence in the Sale of their COUNTRY *Commodities*, at the ſame *exorbitant Rates*, for the *Company*'s Uſe?

Q. III. Whether their *Captains* and other *Officers* do not frequently exceed their *Indulgences*, by bringing home much greater Quantities of Goods, than are allowed by the Regulations of the *Company*, to their own unjuſt Advantage, and the apparent Detriment of the *Proprietors*?

Q. IV. Whether the above-mentioned Practices, and many more of the ſame corrupt Nature, are not ſometimes well known to particular *Directors*, and by them connived at or encouraged for a Share in the Plunder?

Q. V. Whether, if all or any of theſe Practices and Corruptions are at any Time in Uſe, the Perſons guilty of them, or any of them, have not

thereby manifeſtly broken their *Oaths* to the *Company*, and ſhamefully violated the *Truſt* repoſed in them?

Q. VI. Whether the accidental Diſcovery of ſo *extraordinary a Fraud*, as is ſaid to have been made at a late Sale, ought not juſtly to awaken the *Proprietors* and *Directors* to a Suſpicion, that ſome others of their *Officers* and *Servants* may have *miſtaken* or *neglected*, if not manifeſtly tranſgreſſed, their reſpective Duties, beſides this *unhappy, poor Man*, whom they have lately found guilty of ſome *natural Infirmities*, and *ſuſpended* from his Office? And whether the ſtricteſt and moſt publick INQUIRY would not be proper at this Juncture, in order to vindicate the Reputation of their *innocent Officers*, by puniſhing the Offences of the *Guilty*?

Give me Leave to conclude, Sir, with one of Sir *William Temple*'s Obſervations on *Trade*, from his accurate Account of the united Provinces of the *Netherlands* before-mentioned.

" It is, *ſays he*, no conſtant Rule, that Trade " makes Riches; for there may be a *Trade*, which " *impoveriſhes* a Kingdom; as it is not going often " to Market that enriches the *Country-Man*; but, " on the contrary, if every Time he comes there, " he *buys* to a greater Value than he *ſells*, he grows " the *poorer*, the oftner he goes; but the only and " certain *Scale* of Riches ariſing from *Trade* in a Na- " tion, is the Proportion of what is *exported*, for " the Conſumption of *Others*, to what is *imported* " for *their own*.

I am, SIR,

Your humble Servant,

C. D. CIVICUS.

I think

I think myſelf highly obliged to the Author of the foregoing Letter, and muſt confeſs that I have myſelf frequently heard Complaints of the ſame Practices, mentioned in theſe *Queries*; which ſeem, at this Time, to deſerve and demand the *ſevereſt Scrutiny*. I have often been aſſured, that the *Eaſt-India Company* have ſeveral *Governments* in their Diſpoſal, of much *greater Value* than any in his Majeſty's Gift; not excepting even that greateſt and moſt honourable of all, the LIEUTENANCY of IRELAND; which we have the more Reaſon to believe, becauſe we have ſeen ſeveral Perſons return from thoſe Employments, after a Stay of *three* or *four* Years only, laden with immenſe Wealth; affecting the Port and Grandeur of *Britiſh Noblemen*; and cultivating Alliances with the moſt powerful Families in the Kingdom. But the greateſt Grievance is, that they commonly diſcover the ſame *governing Spirit* here, which they exerciſed abroad, and attempt the ſame Kind of *Dominion* and *Authority* over the Countries where they ſettle, which they found practicable in thoſe *foreign* and *arbitrary Commands*.

Gray's-Inn, Jan. 7, 1726. *CAL. D'ANVERS.*

Friday,

N° 12. *Friday, January* 13.

Sed quanto Ille *magis Formas ſe vertat in omnes,*
Tanto, Nate, magis contende tenacia vincla. Virg.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, *Eſq;*

SIR,

THE Payment of the *Publick Debts* and the Redemption of the *Duties*, which they have occaſion'd, are Subjects of ſuch general Importance to the Kingdom, that I doubt not you will accept, in a candid Manner, of any Thoughts, which appear to have this View; tho' Things ſeem to be ſo unfortunately managed at preſent, that you are the only Author of this Kind, from whom I can, with any Degree of Confidence, expect ſuch a Favour.

I preſume, Sir, that you have read a little Piece, juſt publiſhed, entitled, *Remarks* on a late Book, called, *An Eſſay on the publick Debts of this Kingdom*, &c. as well as the Obſervations that have been made upon it in the *London Journal* on *Saturday* the 31ſt of laſt Month; upon which I think it neceſſary, for the Information of thoſe Perſons, who are but little acquainted with this Subject, or into whoſe Hands this Piece may not have fallen, to make ſome farther *Remarks*.

The *Writer* of the Letter in the *London Journal* begins with a pompous Eulogium of the *Author* of the *Eſſay*, (whom, for ſome Reaſons, which I may hereafter mention, I take to be *Himſelf*,) and a very indiffe-

indifferent Character of the *Remarker*, by telling us *that the* former *ſeems to be a* very great Maſter *of the Subject he treats of; whereas it muſt appear to every one, who will read the* Remarks *with any Attention, and be at the Pains of comparing the* Quotations, *by reading the whole Paragraphs that he takes them from, that the Author of the* Remarks *does not only* not know any thing *of the Subject he is writing upon, but that he has dealt in a very extraordinary and diſingenuous Manner with the Author of the* Eſſay; *and ſeems not to have any View to ſet his Countrymen right in the great Queſtion of the* publick Debt; *but, under Colour of making ſome poor Remarks upon a* Book, *which has deſervedly gain'd Eſteem in the World, takes an Opportunity of venting his perſonal Reſentment againſt* Thoſe, *who have a great Share in the Adminiſtration of the Affairs* of *this Kingdom.*

As to the firſt Part of this modeſt Paragraph, which relates to the Author of the *Eſſay*, I muſt obſerve that the *Remarker* does not ſeem in any Part of his Book to deny, *that he is a very great Maſter of the Subject he treats of*; but only endeavours to ſhew, that he has apply'd his Talents to a very *bad Uſe*; and I have ſome Reaſon to believe, that great Part of his Reſentment againſt the *Remarker* proceeds from his having diſcover'd a *Deſign*, which the Author of the *Eſſay* has taken ſo much Pains to conceal.

Whether the Author of the *Remarks knows any Thing of the Subject he is writing upon*, I ſhall leave the World to judge and determine; but, for my own Part, upon reading his Performance with the *cloſeſt Attention*, and *comparing his Quotations* very exactly with the *Paragraphs from whence he takes them*, I muſt be free to declare, that I think he has fully executed his Purpoſe, as it is expreſſed in the *Title Page* of his Book; which was to prove, that

that the *Eſſay* is written with an *evil Tendency*, and that the Author's *Deſign* was to prepare the Nation for *farther Duties* and *new Debts*; which Point he ſeems to have clearly demonſtrated by divers Paſſages and Quotations out of the *Eſſay*.

It is farther obvious, that the *Remarker* does not pretend *to diſpute the Exactneſs of the* Author's *Calculations*; nor *deny, for Argument's Sake, that they would operate in the Manner which he aſſerts, provided they were ſtrictly* applied; but, as his Deſign led him, *he deſires his Countrymen to beware of the Doctrine, which ſeems to be couched under this flattering and deluſive Scheme*; a Doctrine ſo ill diſguiſed, that it may be diſcovered by any Man with the *leaſt Attention*, and without *knowing any thing* of this Subject, ſo far as it relates to *Figures, Calculations*, and the *Particulars*, of which the publick Debt conſiſts.

If therefore the *Letter-writer* had thought fit to have ſaid any Thing to the Purpoſe, his proper Buſineſs would have been to ſhew that this Objection againſt the *Eſſay* was groundleſs; and that the *Remarker* had no Reaſon to charge the *Author* with ſuch a pernicious *Deſign*; whereas he does not attempt to prove This, but flies off to another Point, quite foreign to the preſent Purpoſe, concerning STOCK-JOBBING, (by him called PUBLICK CREDIT) which the *Remarker* takes no Notice of, thro' his whole Book.

But there appears to be ſuch a *Sameneſs* in this Gentleman's Writings and ſuch a peculiar Propenſity to *extraordinary Aſſertions*, that I muſt beg Leave to trouble you with another Letter on what he has farther offered in that Paper.

In the mean time, ſince the *Letter-writer* has thought fit to treat the *Remarks* in ſo *diſingenuous* a Manner, and to condemn them by wholeſale, without producing one Paſſage out of them, or offering the leaſt

leaſt Reaſon for his Severity; it will not, I hope, be thought improper to ſhew, by a Quotation or two, the true *Deſign* of this Piece, and how much it has ſuffered by this Author's Miſrepreſentation.

He begins with ſtating the Author's *Scheme* very exactly; which he ſums up in this Manner.

" If in the Year 1727, the whole publick Debt " of this Kingdom (by which I mean, *All* that the " *Publick owes*, whether it be *publickly known*, or " not) ſhall really amount to no more than *fifty* " *Millions*. IF in the ſame Year the Income of the " *ſinking Fund* may be certainly computed at a Sum " of *one Million*. IF we can be abſolutely ſure that " the ſaid Sum of *one Million* will, from Year to " Year, be punctually applied, in the Manner before- " mentioned, to the Purpoſes, to which it is appro- " priated. IF we may aſſuredly depend upon it, that " *no Miniſter*, for the future, will be induced, *in any* " *poſſible Exigence of Affairs*, real or pretended, to lay " Hands upon this *ſacred Treaſure*, and divert it to " *other Purpoſes*. IF we can undoubtedly promiſe " our ſelves to be free from any Wars, Inſurrections " or Troubles, for a certain large Number of Years " to come; or, IF the *ſinking Fund* can be ſuppo- " ſed to make a *greater Progreſs* under the Incum- " brances of an *expenſive War*, than in a Time of " *profound Peace*. I ſay, *if* all theſe Suppoſitions " are not ridiculous Chimæra's, but well-grounded " Preſumptions, then is our Author's *Scheme* a *ra-* " *tional Scheme*, and we may rely upon ſeeing the " publick Debt totally diſcharged by it, within the " Time propoſed; nay, we may carry our Debts " to the utmoſt Extravagance, in Confidence of ha- " ving them, one Time or other, fully diſcharged " by a ſinking Fund of *one Million*, according to the " Rules of *geometrical Progreſſion*.

In

In the next Place he undertakes to ſhew the Author's *ſecret Deſign*; which, he ſays, ſeems to "be "as far as He can judge, to prepare the Nation for "*new Debts*, (could any Government be either ſo "weak, or ſo wicked as to follow his Directions,) "under the popular Pretence of exhibiting a *Scheme* "for paying the *old*; for were the Author's only "Deſign to prove the Efficacy and Sufficiency of "the *ſinking Fund* for paying our *preſent Debt*, he "could have no Occaſion to carry its Progreſs any "farther than this End; nor is it of any Advantage "to his Argument, to demonſtrate that ſuch a Sum "ſo applied, will not *only* pay off our *preſent Debt*, "but *alſo* any farther increaſed Sum, which we ſhall "pleaſe to add to it. I ſay, it can be of no Advan- "tage to his Argument to ſuppoſe any *farther Debt*; "ſince if it be ſufficient to pay the *preſent*, we de- "ſire no more. To carry his Calculations therefore, "with ſo much Pains, farther than we now have, "or, I hope, ever ſhall have Occaſion for them, "bears an ill Aſpect, and muſt be allowed to be al- "together unneceſſary and impertinent to his pre- "ſent Purpoſe, if he had no other *Deſign*. How- "ever it be, an honeſt *Briton* does not love to hear "the frequent Repetition of *farther Duties* and *new- "invented Funds*, or to ſee any *Calculations*, which "appear to have this Tendency; nor would he have "ſuch broad Hints given to *Men*, who are ready "enough of themſelves to lay hold of all Occaſions "of this Nature.

The Author of the *Eſſay* having aſſerted *that the Lands, Eſtates, Expence or Commerce of* Great Britain *will yet eaſily admit of* farther Duties, *ſufficient to furniſh* new Funds, *to anſwer the Intereſt of ſuch Sums, as* any publick Occaſion whatſoever, *that he can* poſſibly repreſent to himſelf, *can call for*; the *Remarker* goes on thus;

"Was

" Was ever any Author guilty of ſuch an extra-
" vagant Aſſertion; or, of ſuch a flat Contradiction
" to the common Senſe and Knowledge of a whole
" Nation? Is there not already a *Land-Tax* upon our
" *Eſtates* as large as can be reaſonably deſired in a
" Time of *Peace?* Are not all our *ordinary Expences*
" burthen'd with Duties; or is there any conſidera-
" ble Branch of Commerce, which does not pay its
" Cuſtom? Is there ſcarce any Thing, that we eat,
" drink, wear, or in any Manner uſe, which does not
" contribute to the Neceſſities of the Government?
" Are not many Things doubly, trebly, and even
" quadruply loaden? Is not This generally lamented
" by all People; and can our Author, who pretends
" to underſtand the State of the Nation ſo exactly,
" be ignorant of it? Or, does he imagine that all the
" World have loſt the Uſe of their *Eyeſight* and *Feel-*
" *ing*, except himſelf?

" What therefore ſhall we ſay to a Man, who
" thus inſolently ſports with the Calamities of a Na-
" tion, and lays wanton Plans for *future Miniſters*
" (ſince I am ſure they can have no Influence upon
" the *preſent*) to oppreſs his Fellow-Subjects with
" ſuch grievous Burthens, as neither *we nor our Chil-*
" *dren ſhall be able to bear?*

But the moſt unjuſt Imputation of all againſt the *Remarker* is, that he has taken this Opportunity of venting his perſonal Reſentments againſt *Thoſe, who have a great Share in the* Adminiſtration *of the Affairs of this Kingdom*; whereas I can, with great Confidence, aſſert that no Writer whatſoever has, at any Time, in ſo ſmall a Book, mentioned theſe Gentlemen ſo *often* or with *more Reſpect*. Nay, in one Place, I think he carries the Point too far, and ſhews almoſt too ſervile a Regard even for the *beſt of Miniſters*, where he propoſes to have an *Act of Parliament* made on Purpoſe to *ſecure* them in their Employments *during Life*, and to have a new *Form of*

Prayer inſerted in our *Liturgy* for their *Preſervation* and *Continuance*; but though This may be eſteem'd, perhaps, too high a Strain of Deference to the *greateſt* and *worthieſt* of Men in that Station, by ſetting them too much upon an Equality with their *Royal Maſter*; yet, if it ſhould, at any Time, be thought expedient, I ſhall chearfully ſubmit to the *one*, and conform to the *other*; being reſolved not to diſſent from the publick Worſhip, nor to go once the ſeldomer to *Church* on that Account.

I hope, Sir, This will be thought ſufficient to ſhew the *Diſingenuity* of the *Letter-writer*, and convince the World, that ſuch a deſultory Manner of treating the *Remarks* muſt proceed from a Conſciouſneſs of his Inability to ſupport the *Eſſay* againſt the Charge, which is brought againſt it in that Book. But as he has thought fit to open another Field of Argument by advancing ſome *new* and *curious Tenets*; I muſt beg the Favour of you to reſerve me a Place in your Paper one Day next Week, in Order to inſert ſome Obſervations upon them, from,

SIR,

Your Humble Servant,

N BRITANNICUS.

ADVERTISEMENT.

Whereas the Publick *has been moſt groſly* impoſed *on, and* abuſed *by the late invented* golden Truſſes *for preventing of* Ruptures, *which it is now known have proved* ineffectual; *This is to give Notice to all Perſons, that a* Preparation *of* Steel *is making at a* certain Place, *over-againſt the Horſe-Guards; which will have a much better Effect, by entirely changing the* Conſtitution, *and making it more ſtrong and vigorous for the future.*

Monday

N° 13. *Monday, January* 16.

Non fumum *ex* fulgore *ſed ex* fumo *dare* lucem
Cogitat——— Hor.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, *Eſq;*

SIR,

SINCE you have given my Brother *Civicus* ſo kind a Reception, I flatter myſelf that it will not be diſagreeable, if I let you into ſome Secrets relating to the *E—ſt I—a C—y*; and acquaint you with the Behaviour of the *favourite Director*; who is the DIRECTOR *of Directors*, and their SCREEN-MASTER GENERAL.

This Gentleman is of their Committee of *T—ry*, and by thoſe Means is a perfect Maſter of all the Accounts of the *Company*; and is beſides ſo ready and able a *Speaker*, that They entirely depend upon him to defend them againſt the Clamour of their *general Courts*; and, to give him his Due, he has both the *Aſſurance* and the *Addreſs* to perſuade them, that their *Directors* are paying off their Debts; when, at the ſame Time, they are enriching *Themſelves* and *their Creatures*, at the Expence of the *Company*. This being the Caſe, the reſt are forced to ſubmit to him in every Thing. *He* makes *Directors*. *He* makes *Secretaries*. *He* makes *Clerks*. *He* makes *Governors*. *He* makes *Chaplains* to their *Factories*. *He* makes their *Officers* and *Soldiers*; and, to ſum up all, *He* has made to himſelf an *immenſe Fortune*. But not ſatisfied with This (whether out of

vain Glory, or to lay other Parts of the World under Contribution) *He* has pick'd a Quarrel with the *great Mogul*, the *Emperor* of *China*, and the *Sophy* of *Perſia*; and, tho' by theſe Means, the *Company's Ships* may be ſeiz'd, and their *Trade* prohibited; yet, if They will take his Word, it is all for the *better*. He has declared that the *D—ch E—ſt In—a Company* have acceded upon a Promiſe, that our *I—a C—y* will bear the whole Expence of the War, and give them a good, handſome Sum into the Bargain; and that we may have more Friends upon the ſame Terms; meaning, as I hear, the two *Inſurances*, and the *charitable Corporation*. He ſays that the *Copper Merchants* have it under their Deliberation; and that it is not doubted but they will likewiſe take *our Money*, when They have puniſhed a Perſon, who has cheated them, and are convinced, that nobody will give them *more*. He ſeems to value himſelf much upon the Zeal of one of the Principals, *viz.* the *B—k*; and ſays that They will be ready, upon Demand, with their *hundred Thouſands*; but I find it is moſt People's Opinion, that They are playing their old Game of lying by, 'till they are aſſured of their INTEREST. The *S—th S—a* Company, which was at firſt a Principal, and the moſt nearly concern'd, has, as we are told, being very neceſſitous, taken Money on both Sides; but it is not doubted that this *Gentleman* will fix them at laſt; it being a *Game* he is perfectly acquainted with. The *Ar——s*, I think, are allow'd by all Sides (like the Duke of *Lorrain*) to ſtand *neuter*. The two *Water-Offices* have offered their Aſſiſtance. The Demands of the one are very exorbitant; for They inſiſt upon having their Engine kept in Repair. The other, being compoſed of *publick ſpirited Men*, will do it *gratis*, for the Honour of it, being at preſent out of Buſineſs; but, in my humble Opinion, They ought to be reſerved as *Mediators* and *Peace-*

makers,

makers, if they can furniſh Water enough to cool St. *Stephen's Chappel*. This we are told is the State of our Affairs; but the *Gentleman*, out of his great Modeſty, will not ſtrike the Bargain with any of them, without the Sanction of a *general Court*; which he deſigns to call very ſoon, and does not doubt that his Meaſures will be crown'd with Succeſs, if the *Court* will do as he wou'd have them. He has had a *private Meeting* already with ſeveral of the *Proprietors* at his Friend's in the City, where they came to the following *Reſolutions*, viz.

" That the hearty Thanks of the Company be re-
" turn'd to their *Directors*, for their great *Care* and
" *Vigilance* in diſcharge of their Office.

" That, notwithſtanding their Stock was fallen from
" 180 *per Cent.* to 130; They were ſenſible of the
" great *Bleſſings* they enjoyed under their *happy Di-*
" *rection.*

" That They would maintain and ſupport their
" *Directors* againſt all their open and ſecret Enemies
" both at *Home* and *Abroad*.

" That if any Prince or Potentate (how great ſo-
" ever) ſhould give himſelf Airs to any Perſon em-
" ploy'd by this *Company*, they will ſufficiently enable
" their *Directors* to chaſtiſe his Inſolence.

" That they will give Power to their *Directors* to
" make a conſiderable CALL, and to borrow *what*
" *Money They pleaſe*; for which the *Company* will be
" anſwerable."

Theſe *Reſolutions*, I am told, were unanimouſly agreed to; and *Thoſe*, who were not already employ'd in the *Company*'s Service, had an Aſſurance from this *Gentleman* that they ſhould be provided for upon the firſt *Vacancies*.

Now, Sir, I beg you will publiſh this Account, before a Meeting of a *general Court*; that the *innocent*

Proprietors may be appriſed of what is intended. I am, with great Reſpect,

SIR,

Your moſt obedient, humble Servant,

C. URBANICUS.

P. S. I had forgot to tell you the Occaſion of the Quarrel, which was thus. The *Great Mogul* has been heard to ſay, more than once, that all his *own Dominions* were his *own*; and that he had conſented to a *Trade* with the *Emperor* of *China*; but I never heard what Offence the *Sophy* of *Perſia* has given to our *Company*; unleſs They are in ſome private Treaty with the *T—ky C——ny* in behalf of the *Grand Seignior*.

ADVERTISEMENT.

In a few Days will be publiſhed, PROPOSALS *for Printing*

A more accurate and correct Map *of the World, than any, which has hitherto appeared; ſhewing the many* groſs Miſtakes *made by former* Geographers *in the Deſcription and Situation of* Europe; *and proving the* Balance *to have* hung wrong *for this laſt Century*; Muſcovy *and* Spain *being lately diſcovered to be contiguous, and the* German *Continent to extend to the* Eaſt *and* Weſt-Indies; *and ſetting right many other remarkable Errors too long to be enumerated. The Whole is formed on the moſt exact* Plans *and* neweſt Obſervations *of* modern Geographers. *Subſcriptions are taken in at the* Brazen-Head *in* Channel-Row, Weſtminſter, *at* Four Shillings; *and 'tis hoped the* whole Work *will be finiſhed by* May-Day *next.*

Friday,

N° 14. *Friday, January* 20.

Verum ita Riſores, *ita commendare dicaces*
Conveniet Satyros, ita vertere ſeria ludo,
Ne, quicunque Deus, *quicunque abhibebitur* Heros,
Regali *conſpectus in* auro *nuper & oſtro,*
Migret in obſcuras humili ſermone *Tabernas.* Hor.

A Man, who has lived but half as long in the World as I have done, cannot avoid having a great many melancholy Reflections, on ſeeing Things of the moſt *ſerious* and *ſolemn* Nature turned into *Ridicule*. This Method of Writing was firſt introduced by *Cervantes* in *Spain*, and *Rabelais* in *France*; from whence it was brought into *England* by King *Charles* II. at his Reſtoration; where it immediately grew into Credit from that Antipathy, which the People had conceived againſt the fanatical Purity and Starchneſs of the former Reign. Ever ſince that Time it has continued to encreaſe amongſt us, and is now grown to ſuch an Exceſs, that the graveſt Subjects are frequently treated in this light and ludicrous Manner; of which I could give a Multitude of Inſtances; but I believe it will be ſufficient to mention only two Books lately publiſh'd; namely, Captain *Gulliver*'s *Voyages*, and *An Enquiry into the Reaſons of the Conduct of* Great-Britain, *&c.* the *laſt* of which ſeems to be a ſervile Imitation of the *other*, as That is of the *French* or *Spaniſh* Author before-mention'd, and might be better entitled *Don Quixote* in *Politicks*; the Reflections of *Pantagruel* on the preſent State of Affairs; or, *Gulliver* turn'd *Stateſman*.

It

It is evident to every Reader of the meaneſt Capacity, that the Author of this curious Piece proceeds on the Model of thoſe Writers, and that his Deſign is to ridicule *Stateſmen* and *political Matters* in the ſame Manner that *Cervantes* expoſes Books of *Chivalry*, or Captain *Gulliver* the Writings of *Travellers*, by publiſhing a Collection of the moſt palpable *Falſhoods*, *Abſurdities*, and *Contradictions*, in a grave and ſerious Manner, with the ſame ſolemn Grimace and repeated Profeſſions of *Truth* and *Simplicity*.

But I muſt obſerve, that this *Mock-Enquirer* is not only guilty of very unſeaſonable and indecent Mirth, by turning to Jeſt Things of the higheſt Concern, but is alſo ſomewhat unhappy in his Imitation of thoſe great Maſters; for tho' the Account which he gives of publick Affairs is full as *romantick* and *incredible* as the *Adventures*, which They relate; yet he falls infinitely below them in Diction and manner of Writing; which in Them is elegant and majeſtick; whereas in this Author the Stile is manifeſtly as *indigeſted* and *ungrammatical*, as the Tenour of his Book is *fabulous* and *improbable*; but perhaps This may be done on purpoſe, in order to make the *Banter* the ſtronger.

Indeed we may, in ſome Meaſure, impute this Humour, of turning ſerious Things into ridicule, to ſome of our late theatrical Entertainments; for I cannot help thinking that the great Encouragement, which has been given, for ſome Years paſt, to the wonderful Conceits of *Scaramouch* and *Harlequin*, has emboldened ſeveral Perſons, and eſpecially this Author, to repreſent the great Affairs of Princes and Kingdoms in the ſame *jocoſe* and *farcical Manner*.

What Succeſs this Piece may meet with in an Age and Nation, which is too apt to be pleaſed with ſuch fanciful Productions, I know not; but it cannot be expected that a Man of my Years ſhould approve of it, in any Degree; for, on the contrary, I am aſtoniſhed that any Perſon ſhould preſume to publiſh ſuch *political*

litical Drollery, and make the moſt important Affairs of *Europe*, which ſeems to be juſt on the Brink of a bloody and expenſive War, the Subject of *publick Mirth* and *Entertainment*.

It is not improbable that ſome Perſon, who has more Leiſure, or a better Opinion of this Piece than I have, may think it worth his while to examine the *Tendency* of it in a ſerious Manner. For my Part, I think it deſerves only *Contempt* and *Ridicule*; and I can make no doubt that every impartial Man in *Great Britain* will look on it in the ſame Light; but as it is not my Cuſtom to condemn any Book, however *falſe* or *abſurd*, without ſome Reaſon, I think it proper to make the following Obſervations on this Treatiſe.

The Author ſeems impatient to let us into his Deſign; which I think ſufficiently explains itſelf in the very firſt Page, where he tells us, "that *Curioſity* itſelf, the loweſt Principle of all our *Enquiries*, will "force its way into ſuch a Scene, and will expect or "*invent* ſome Account of ſo ſurpriſing a *Change*, from "a *Calm* hardly *paralelled* by any *paſt Proſpect*."

For my Part, I never eſteemed the natural *Curioſity* of Mankind to be ſo *low* a Principle, as is here repreſented; but I can eaſily believe that this Author is actuated by ſome *higher* Principle, as he ſeems to intimate himſelf juſt below; where he ſays, that this Principle grows *ſtronger*, when it is join'd to *Self-intereſt*, and becomes a *perſonal* and *national Concern*; which I take to be the Caſe of the *Enquirer*, whatever it may be of the *Enquiry*; for I readily underſtand how this Affair may be a *perſonal Concern* to the Author; and I think it ought to become a *national Concern* to defeat his End.—But to proceed.

A *Parallel* to a *Calm* is manifeſtly a Solæciſm in Language; and a PAST *Proſpect* is juſt as proper as a FUTURE *Retroſpect*; both which are what we uſually call *Abſurdities*; but as *Queſtions* go farther in convincing ſome Perſons than the ſtrongeſt *Arguments*, I muſt

muſt beg leave to enquire of this *Enquirer* how he thinks any Prelate would like the PAST *proſpect* of a *better* BISHOPRICK?

As to the Duke *de Ripperda*, if what is ſaid of him be true, I am heartily glad that he is out of Power, and ſecured in the Caſtle of *Segovia*; tho' I preſume it will be thought ſomewhat incredible that ? Man, who has diſcovered ſuch a *rank, perſonal Malignancy* againſt his Majeſty, ſhould have the Confidence to fly for Refuge, when in Diſgrace, to his Majeſty's Ambaſſador, or to think that *Great Britain* would endanger a Rupture with the Kingdom of *Spain*, only to protect ſuch an *inveterate Enemy* from their Reſentment.

In Page 33, we find *Suſpicions*, or ſomething ſtronger than *Suſpicions*, built upon *Appearances* of another *Suſpicion*; which ſeveral *Suſpicions*, to the Number of about *ſeven* or *eight*, are at length made to amount to a *Certainty*.

Indeed, we are told that *Ripperda* did, upon a certain Occaſion, *declare* in Converſation a *ſecret, offenſive Treaty*; which ought to be look'd on as a *private Proclamation* of a *ſecret Treaty*.

Having thus ſettled it as a *Certainty* that there is a *declared, ſecret, offenſive Alliance* between the Emperor and the King of *Spain*, he propoſes, in the next Place, to give us ſome Light into the *Nature* of it, and tells us, that when he has done This—*Let them that be blind, be blind ſtill*; which Expreſſion is look'd upon, by ſome of his Friends, as a little too *open*, by diſcovering the little Uſe, which his Book will be of, unleſs his Readers reſolve to continue *blind ſtill*.

But above all, commend me to thoſe two quick-ſcented *Cuſtom-Houſe Officers* in *Ireland*; who, upon ſearching *three Ruſſian Ships*, driven in thither by Streſs of Weather, found all the *Symptoms* of *Enmity* to his *Majeſty*. I would humbly recommend theſe Gentle-

Gentlemen to better Employments; ſince They may be of great Uſe to any *Miniſters*, by their excellent Talent at diſcovering Ships that are *diſaffected*, and finding out all the *Symptoms of Enmity* in Veſſels, that have falſe Bottoms. This puts me in mind of a Piece of an old Ballad, which celebrates the ſame uſeful Quality in that renowned Prince King *James* I.

For louder and louder,
Quoth the King I ſmell Powder,
And down he went into the Cellar;
And the King was an excellent Smeller.

In the ſame Page we are told, concerning theſe *three Ships*, "that when they were ſafe in *Spain*, it "was given out by *one* of the greateſt Men in the "Court of *Ruſſia*, and written by *another great Man* "from his Mouth to *another* at *Stockholm*, in order to "influence the *Swedes*, &c" which puts me in mind "of another Scrap of Poetry in the *Turtle* and *Sparrow*, to the ſame Purpoſe.

Sometimes, forſooth, upon the Brook,
I kept a Miſs. An honeſt Rook
Told it a Snipe; *who told a* Stear;
Who told it Thoſe, *who told it* her.

I am ſurprized that this Author ſhould complain (as he does in more than one Place) of the *extravagant Manner*, in which the Duke *de Ripperda* was *honour'd* and *aggrandized* by the King of *Spain*; becauſe I had always ſuch a Reſpect for Men in high Stations, that I thought a *prime Miniſter*, who ſerved his Maſter honeſtly, however he might behave towards *foreign Courts*, could not be loaded with Honours and Riches, and Grandeur in too *extravagant* a Manner.

In

In another Place, ſpeaking of the ſame great Man, he ſays, *Who can we believe, if not a* prime Miniſter? Which, applied to Men of ſuch Eminence, ought certainly to hold true; but as it relates to *One*, of whom this Author has given ſuch an infamous Character, it ſeems not altogether concluſive; for we may reaſonably expect as much *Veracity* in a private Country Gentleman, as in *ſuch* a *prime Miniſter*.

I ſhall take no Notice of his pleaſant Argument for *paying* our Debts, by plunging *farther* in Debt; becauſe this Method of Reaſoning has been advanced before, in another Book, written in the ſame Spirit, and requires no farther Obſervations, than what have been already made upon it.

But I cannot neglect to obſerve, with how much Eaſe and Dexterity he has made *Don Carlos* the greateſt Prince upon Earth; who, by marrying the eldeſt *Arch-Dutcheſs*, may poſſibly come to be *Emperor*; may be King of *France*; and may be King of *Spain*; which is ſomewhat like a *Welch Lady* of my Acquaintance, who, if an Unkle, three Brothers, and two Couſins happen to die, may be a conſiderable Fortune.

I make no Doubt that the *Pretender*, according to Cuſtom, is very active at this critical Conjuncture, and will ſet all Meaſures on Foot, which he thinks will facilitate his Deſigns; but I am ſorry to ſee this Affair treated in ſo *ludicrous* a Manner by the Author of the *Enquiry*; for, by founding it on a Number of *Suppoſitions* and *Conjectures*, he makes it look like *Scrub*'s Plot in the *Stratagem*, who concludes *thirdly and laſtly, it muſt be a* Plot, *becauſe I don't know what to make of it.*

D. C.

Monday,

N° 15. *Monday, January* 23.

Ecce iterum *Criſpinus!*—— Juv.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, *Eſq;*

SIR,

I HAVE already ſhewn, that the Author of a Letter, publiſhed in the *London Journal* on the 31ſt of laſt Month, occaſioned by the *Remarks* on an *Eſſay on the publick Debts*, &c. has either miſtaken or wilfully avoided to take Notice of the true Drift of that Pamphlet; which was only to prove that the *Deſign* of the Author of the *Eſſay* was to prepare the Nation for *farther Duties* and *new Debts*, without making the leaſt Attempt to overturn the Foundation of his *Scheme*, which has been ſince conſider'd in ſo clear and maſterly a Manner as will, I believe, admit of no *Reply*. But ſince the Author of that Letter, finding it impracticable to defend the *Eſſay* againſt this Charge, has had Recourſe to another Point concerning *Stock-Jobbing*, on which Subject he has advanced ſeveral uncommon Propoſitions, I muſt now deſire to trouble you with ſome *Remarks* on that Head.

I obſerve, in the firſt Place, that the principal View of this Letter ſeems to be to diſſuade the *honeſt, undeſigning* Creditors of the Publick from ſelling out of the Funds, at this Juncture, that the *crafty Men*, who are in *Secrets*, may diſpoſe of their Stocks at a *better Price*, in order to *buy in again*, when the

Stocks are ſunk much *lower*, as they may probably have ſome Reaſon to expect.

I am as much concerned, as this Author can be, to ſee any clandeſtine and ſiniſter Methods made uſe of, in order to depreciate *publick Credit*, and heartily wiſh that it were much higher than it is at preſent; though I cannot agree with him, that this *Fall* is occaſioned only by a LITTLE RUMOUR *of our entring into a War*. I muſt alſo remark that although the *publick Credit* ought, by all juſt Methods, to be kept up at this Time; yet that putting a greater Value on the Price of our Stocks than they are really worth, is not the proper Way to ſupport it; but, by giving it a ſudden and falſe *Riſe*, will occaſion at length a greater and more precipitate *Fall*. I will therefore affirm, that ſince there is ſo great a Share of the Property of this Kingdom inveſted in theſe fluctuating Commodities, every Proprietor has a Right to be acquainted, at all Times, with their genuine Value; that he may not be impoſed on in the Sale of them by Perſons *more knowing* than himſelf. Nay, I will go ſtill farther, and venture to declare that the *Riſe* and *Fall* of theſe Commodities do, in no ſmall Degree, affect every other Kind of Property in theſe Kingdoms; as was too ſenſibly felt in that fatal Year 1720; and therefore that a Man, who has *no immediate Concern* in theſe Securities, may, notwithſtanding the *Letter-writer's* Aſſertion to the contrary, *write* or *ſpeak*, provided he *writes* or *ſpeaks* only what is *true*, on theſe Subjects, without any *bad Deſign*; but whoever, either by his *writing* or *ſpeaking*, endeavours to perſuade the publick Creditors, that their Securities are, at any Time, worth more than they really are, *I will be free to declare* (as this Author expreſſes it) *that he muſt do it with a very* infamous *Deſign*.

But

But what can he poſſibly mean by ſaying, *that the only Enemies, whom we can be ſuppoſed to have to do with*, can give no Interruption *to our* Commerce *to any* great *Degree*; *as may be* plainly ſhewn, *if Occaſion requires?* I ſhould be very much obliged to him, if he would be pleaſed to *ſhew me This plainly*; ſince I think the *preſent Occaſion does very much require it*; for are we not likely to *have to do with* SPAIN; and will not our *Spaniſh* Trade (which has been conſtantly thought, of all other, the *moſt valuable*) be *not only ſtopt* by ſuch a War, but alſo be in great Danger of being, in a conſiderable Degree, loſt for ever, by its taking *another Channel*; as well as by the Encouragement that will be certainly given to *Manufactures* in thoſe Countries; which, when once eſtabliſhed, will, in all Probability, be for ever afterwards ſupported?

It is too well known that our *Woollen Manufacture* in the *North* and *Weſt* does already feel the Miſchiefs of *Interruptions* in *Trade*. The *Ruſſian* Army, which uſed to be cloathed by *us*, have, for ſome Years paſt, contracted with the King of *Pruſſia* for the ſame Commodities. We ſee that the Manufactures in all Parts of *Germany* improve daily; that they likewiſe ſpread in *Poland*, *Ruſſia*, &c. and, which is ſtill worſe, that thoſe Nations *underſell* us. What can be the Reaſon of This, but that our People, being loaded with heavy Duties on the ſeveral Materials neceſſary to the *Woollen Manufacture*, cannot work ſo *cheap*? and yet the Author of the *Eſſay is for continuing theſe Duties* for ever.

But what will be the natural Effect of This? If ſo many heavy *Duties* render it impoſſible for our *Countrymen* to work as *cheap* as the People Abroad; if, in Conſequence of This, Manufactures are ſet up and ſupported in *foreign Parts*, ours at Home muſt ſuffer more and more every Day in Proportion. By theſe Means numbers of Families will be reduced to ſtarve;

and This, by the ſame Conſequence, will *leſſen* the *Funds*, provided for paying the Intereſt of the *publick Debts*; the Burthen of which muſt then be thrown on *Land*, or the publick Creditors loſe their Eſtates; and even the *landed Eſtates* will beſides ſuffer by every Diminution of our *Manufactures*; for the *leſs* People *get*, the *leſs* they will have to *ſpend*, and the Produce of *Land* muſt ſink in its Value for want of *Conſumption*.

What renders this Aſſertion of the *Letter-writer*, *that a War with* Spain *will give but* little Interruption *to our Trade*, the more unaccountable, is, that it appears, as I am informed, by the *Cuſtom-houſe* Books, that in the Year 1717 (which was the Year before our laſt unhappy Difference with *Spain*) our *Exports* thither amounted to the Value of *ſeven Hundred, forty-nine Thouſand, one Hundred, ninety-one Pounds*; whereas, in the Year 1719, they amounted only to *one Hundred forty-eight Thouſand, ſeven Hundred, forty-one Pounds*; ſo that the *Exports* in the laſt of theſe Years was diminiſhed by *ſix Hundred Thouſand, four Hundred and fifty Pounds*; and I wiſh this Author could *plainly ſhew* us, that the ſame, or a like Difference, will not happen again in the ſame Circumſtances.

I need not mention the Encouragement, which is always given, at ſuch Times, to the Practice of *Privateering*; nor that the Subjects of ſome Powers in Alliance with us may, perhaps, clandeſtinely engage in this lucrative Employment.

This extravagant Aſſertion (whether it proceeds from *Ignorance* or *Shamefulneſs*, I ſhall not determine) is ſo near a-kin to ſeveral Propoſitions of the ſame Kind in the *Eſſay on the publick Debts*; particularly to That, where he ſays, *that an* Increaſe of Figures *is not a real Increaſe of the* Quantity of any *Sum*; and That, where he aſſures us, *that the Lands, Eſtates, Expences, and Commerce of* Great Britain, *will*

will yet eaſily admit of a great many more Duties *and* Taxes; there is, I ſay, ſuch a near Reſemblance between all theſe Propoſitions, that I cannot help ſuppoſing them to come from the *ſame* extraordinary Hand.

But there are other Aſſertions, almoſt as extravagant, in this *Letter*; of which I muſt not forget to take Notice.

It is, for Inſtance, very ſurprizing (if any Thing hereafter can be thought ſo in *this Writer*) that he ſhould ſay, the *Stocks were* artfully *blown up too high, ſomewhat more than a Year paſt*; when it is well known *who* ſeemed to congratulate Themſelves on that extraordinary Height of *publick Credit*, (for ſo it was then called) as the Effect of *wiſe Meaſures*; and it is as well known *who* were the moſt buſy in *ſelling out* before and immediately after the *Hanover Treaty* was finiſhed, in order to make their beſt Market of that *artful Riſe* of the Stocks; which, with the Apprehenſions of publick Troubles, occaſioned that great *Fall*, ſo much complain'd of; and whether *Thoſe*, who occaſion'd it, may juſtly be eſteemed *deſigning Men*, and *Enemies of the Government* or not, let others judge; but it could not, I think, be expected that *ſuch* a Character ſhould be fixed on them by this Author.

It is farther worth enquiring, how he comes to reckon the *Intereſt* of Money to be, on *that Day*, (*December* 21.) not more than *four per Cent.* by the *Premiums* on Bonds. But the Author was very much in the Right to *antedate* his Letter *ten Days*, in order to give that artful Proof of the *Intereſt* of Money; ſince it is well known that, at the Time of its *Publication*, thoſe *Bonds* were ſold at *par*.

Neither is the Denomination of the *Rate* of Intereſt, ſaid to be given for the publick *Loans*, a certain Proof, (as this Author ſuppoſes) of the State of *publick Credit*; for This muſt be judged according to

what the Publick does *really* pay for ſuch Loans. The Intereſt may be called *three per Cent.* and yet, by a Kind of *Management*, very practicable, and not unuſual in Contracts with *monied Societies*, the Publick may at leaſt pay to the Rate of *five per Cent.* or more.

There is another Sort of Management ſometimes practiſed with *monied Societies*, by giving them ſome *Bargain*, which may be *more valuable* to Them, and *more detrimental* to the Publick, than *really* and *openly* to give *five*, *ſix*, or even *ten per Cent.* on the *Loans*.

May not *Tallies*, which carry 3 *l. per Cent.* only in *Appearance*, be diſpoſed of with as much Intereſt due upon them, as may make the *Rate* of Intereſt equal to 4 *l.* or 5 *l. per Cent.* to the Party, who receives them?

As to what he ſays about *buying* Stores *on equal or better Terms than any* Trader *or* Society *of Men*; it is well known that the *Navy* and *Victualling Bills* carry an *Intereſt* at *five per Cent.* and though the *Intereſt* does not *commence* for the firſt *ſix* Months, yet *This* is, and has conſtantly been, *allowed* in the *Prices*, which is juſt the *ſame* as if it did *commence*.

He ends, as he begun, in a very extraordinary Manner, by telling us, that the *Proprietors of the publick Debts* have, for their *Security* of the Payment of their *Principal*, as well as *Intereſt*, the *Lands* and *Manufactures*, *Trade* and *Arts* of *Great Britain*; which is indeed very *true*; but it is at the ſame time ſo *melancholy* a Conſideration, and ſo heavy a *Mortgage* on the *Eſtates* and *Induſtry* of every *Briton*, that a prudent Author would have choſen to paſs over this Circumſtance in Silence, ſince it can tend only to create *Uneaſineſs* in the Minds of the People.

I hope none of my Readers will underſtand any Part of this Letter in any other Senſe than as ſome Obſervations naturally ariſing from the *wild* and *extravagant* Aſſertions of this Writer; a Liberty, which I ſhall continue to take, for the Honour of my *King*, and

and the Welfare of my *Country*,, till I am aſſured that *He* and his *Coadjutors* have ſome particular *Privilege* to write on theſe important Subjects, juſt in what Manner they pleaſe, without being moleſted with any *Anſwers*, *Remarks*, or *Animadverſions*.

I am, SIR,

Your humble Servant,

C. N. BRITANNICUS.

ADVERTISEMENT.

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A ſhort and eaſy Method of acquiring DULNESS; *or, the Art of being* unintelligible, *ſo as not to be found out by the deareſt Friend or neareſt Relation; with proper Rules to damp* Imagination, *and prevent* Elocution. *By a* Perſon, *who has, for theſe many Years laſt paſt, profeſſed* Non-conception, *and Difficulty of* Utterance; *the Whole in a few Words, the Author not being Maſter of many. To be had only at the* Hand *and* Pen *near* Whitehall.

N° 16. *Friday, January* 27.

In HOC SIGNO vinces.

HAVING as yet given the Reader little beſides grave Diſcourſes on publick Matters, and foreſeeing that, during the Seſſion of Parliament, I ſhall be obliged to continue daily in the ſame Track, I am willing to take this one Opportunity of preſenting him with ſomething, which has no Relation at

at all to publick Affairs, but is of a Nature purely amuſing, and entirely void of Reflection upon any Perſon whatſoever.

My Friend *Alvarez* (a Man not unknown to many here, by his frequent Journies to *England*) did ſome time ſince make me a Preſent of a *Perſian* Manuſcript, which he met with while he follow'd the Fortunes of *Meriweis*. An exact Tranſlation of the firſt Chapter has been made, at my Requeſt, by the learned Mr. *Solomon Negri*, and is as follows.

The Firſt Viſion of Camilick.

IN the Name of God, ever merciful, and of *Haly* his Prophet. I ſlept in the Plains of *Bagdad*, and I dreamed a Dream. I lifted my Eyes, and I ſaw a vaſt Field, pitch'd with the Tents of the mighty, and the ſtrong ones of the Earth in Array of Battle. I obſerv'd the Arms and Enſigns of either Hoſt. In the Banners of the one were pictur'd a Crown and Sceptre; and upon the Shields of the Soldiers were engraven Scourges, Chains, Iron Maces, Axes, and all kinds of Inſtruments of Violence. The Standards of the other bore the Crown and Sceptre alſo; but the Devices on the Shields were the Balance, the Olive Wreath, the Plough-Share, and other emblematical Figures of Juſtice, Peace, Law, and Liberty. Between theſe two Armies, I ſaw a King come forth, and ſign a large *Roll of Parchment*; at which loud Shouts of Acclamation were heard from every Quarter. The *Roll* itſelf flew up into the Air, and appear'd over their Heads, encompaſſed with Rays of Glory. I obſerved that where ever the ſecond Army moved, this glorious Apparition attended them; or rather the Army ſeemed only to move, as That guided or directed. Soon after, I ſaw both theſe Hoſts engaged, and the whole Face of the Land overſpread with Blood. I ſaw the King, who had ſign'd and broken that *ſacred*

Charter;

Charter, drink out of a golden Cup, fall into Convulſions, gaſp and die.

I then ſaw another King take his Place; who, in the moſt ſolemn Manner, engaged to make the Words contain'd in the *Roll* the Guide of his Actions; but notwithſtanding This, I ſaw both Armies again encounter. I ſaw the King a Priſoner. I ſaw his Son relieve him, and I ſaw the Chiefs of the other Army put to Death. Yet that victorious Son himſelf bow'd his Head to the *Parchment*; which now appear'd with fuller Luſtre than before. Several other Battles enſued, with vaſt Slaughter on both Sides; during which the *celeſtial Volume* was ſometimes clouded over; but ſtill again exerted its Rays, and after every Cloud appear'd the brighter. I obſerved thoſe Heroes, who fought beneath it, tho' ever ſo unfortunate, not once to abate their Courage, while they had the leaſt Glimpſe of that heavenly Apparition in their View; and even Thoſe, whom I ſaw overthrown, pierced with ghaſtly Wounds, and panting in Death, reſign'd their Lives in Smiles, and with Eyes caſt up to that glorious Object. At laſt the long Contention ceaſed. I beheld both Armies unite and move together under the ſame divine Influence. I ſaw one King twelve Times bow down before the bright Phænomenon; which from thence-forward ſpread a Light over the whole Land; and, deſcending nearer to the Earth, the Beams of it grew ſo warm as it approach'd, that the Hearts of the Inhabitants leap'd for Joy. The Face of War was no more. The ſame Fields, which had ſo long been the Scene of Death and Deſolation, were now cover'd with golden Harveſts. The Hills were cloath'd with Sheep. The Woods ſung with Gladneſs. Plenty laugh'd in the Valleys. Induſtry, Commerce, and Liberty danced hand in hand thro' the Cities.

While I was delighting myſelf with this amiable Proſpect, the Scene entirely changed. The Fields and Armies vaniſhed; and I ſaw a large and magnificent Hall,

Hall, reſembling the great *Divan* or Council of the Nation. At the upper End of it, under a Canopy, I beheld the *ſacred Covenant*, ſhining as the Sun. The Nobles of the Land were there aſſembled. They proſtrated themſelves before it, and they ſung an Hymn. *Let the Heart of the King be glad; for his People are happy! May the Light of the Covenant be a Lanthorn to the Feet of the Judges; for by This ſhall they ſeparate Truth from Falſhood. O Innocence rejoyce! for by this Light ſhalt thou walk in Safety; nor ſhall the Oppreſſor take hold on thee. O Juſtice be exceeding glad! for by this Light all thy Judgments ſhall be decreed with Wiſdom; nor ſhall any Man ſay thou haſt erred. Let the Hearts of all the People be glad! for This have their Grandfathers died; in This have their Fathers rejoiced; and in This may their Poſterity rejoyce evermore!*

Then all the Rulers took a ſolemn Oath to preſerve it inviolate and unchanged, and to ſacrifice their Lives and their Fortunes, rather than ſuffer themſelves or their Children to be deprived of ſo invaluable a Bleſſing.

After This, I ſaw another and larger Aſſembly come forward into the Hall, and join the firſt. Theſe paid the ſame Adorations to the *Covenant*; took the ſame Oath; they ſung the ſame Hymn; and added a ſolemn Form of Imprecation to this effect. *Let the Words of the* Roll *be for ever in our Eyes, and graven on our Hearts; and accurſed be He, who layeth Hands on the ſame. Accurſed be He, who ſhall remove this Writing from the People; or who ſhall hide the Law thereof from the King. Let that Man be cut off from the Earth. Let his Riches be ſcatter'd as the Duſt. Let his Wife be the Wife of the People. Let not his firſt-born be ranked among the Nobles. Let his Palaces be deſtroy'd. Let his Gardens be as a Deſart, having no Water. Let his Horſes and his Horſemen be overthrown; and let his Dogs devour their Carcaſſes!*

ſes!—In the midſt of theſe Execrations enter'd a Man, dreſs'd in a plain Habit, with a Purſe of Gold in his Hand. He threw himſelf forward into the Room, in a bluff, ruffianly Manner. A Smile, or rather a Snear, ſat on his Countenance. His Face was bronz'd over with a Glare of Confidence. An arch Malignity leer'd in his Eye. Nothing was ſo extraordinary as the Effect of this Perſon's Appearance. They no ſooner ſaw him, but They all turn'd their Faces from the Canopy, and fell proſtrate before him. He trod over their Backs, without any Ceremony, and march'd directly up to the Throne. He open'd his Purſe of Gold; which he took out in Handfuls, and ſcattered amongſt the Aſſembly. While the greater Part were engaged in ſcrambling for theſe Pieces, He ſeiz'd, to my inexpreſſible Surpriſe, without the leaſt Fear, upon the ſacred *Parchment* itſelf. He rumpled it rudely up, and cramm'd it into his Pocket. Some of the People began to murmur. He threw more Gold, and they were pacified. No ſooner was the *Parchment* taken away, but in an Inſtant I ſaw half the auguſt Aſſembly in Chains. Nothing was heard thro' the whole Divan, but the Noiſe of Fetters, and Clank of Irons. I ſaw Pontiffs in their eccleſiaſtical Habits, and Senators, clad in Ermine, linked together like the moſt ignominious Slaves. Terror and Amazement were impreſſed on every Countenance, except on That of ſome few, to whom the Man continued diſperſing his Gold. This He did, till his Purſe became empty. Then He dropt it; but then too, in the very ſame Moment, He himſelf dropt with it to the Ground. That and the Date of his Power at once expired. He ſunk, and ſunk for ever. The radiant *Volume* again roſe; again ſhone out, and reaſſumed its Place above the Throne; the Throne, which had been darkened all this Time, was now filled with the Effulgence of the Glory, which darted from it. Every Chain dropped off in an Inſtant. Every Face regained its former Chearfulneſs.

neſs. Heaven and Earth reſounded with *Liberty! Liberty!* and the HEART OF THE KING WAS GLAD WITHIN HIM. *O.*

N° 17. *Monday, January* 30.

Specioſa verbis; Re inania aut ſubdola; quantoque majore Libertatis *imagine tegebantur, tanto eruptura ad* infenſius Servitium. Tac.

IT is wonderful to obſerve the *Viciſſitude* and *Revolutions* of all Things. If we look into Nature, the moſt minute Particles of Matter are in a perpetual Flux, and always paſſing out of one Form into another. This is beautifully repreſented by the Antients under the Allegory of * *Proteus*, who could turn himſelf, according to the Fable, into all Manner of Forms and Shapes, in order to avoid the Importunity of Thoſe, who ſought his Advice; by which are ſignified to us the various Mutations of Matter, and the Folly of Thoſe, who pry too nicely into the Secrets of Nature.

States, Kingdoms, and Empires, are ſubject to the ſame *Viciſſitudes*; and, like the great Maſs of all Things, undergo various *Revolutions* in their Laws, Manners, Policy, and Religion. Thoſe, which, in the preceding Ages, were *free States*, are now ſunk into the Dregs of *Slavery*; and others, which formerly groan'd under *Bondage*, have ſince ſhaken off their *Servitude*,

* *Vide Sir* Francis Bacon's *Hiſtory of the Ancients.*

and

and enjoy at preſent the Bleſſings of *Liberty*. Several Nations, which were of old the moſt famous for *Learning* and *Politeneſs*, are now degenerated into *Barbariſm* and *Ignorance*; whilſt others again, where nothing formerly prevailed but *Savageneſs* and *Brutality*, are, in our Days, become the moſt *civilized*, and the greateſt Nurſeries of *Letters*; ſo that we may ſay of Kingdoms, as the Scripture ſpeaks of Mankind, that *They flee as it were a Shadow, and never continue in one Stay.*

The ſame *Inconſtancy* is likewiſe to be obſerved in the Opinions of Mankind, and the Practices of different *Parties*; who will be found, upon ſtrict Examination, to ſhift Sides, and mutually interchange their Meaſures, together with their Principles, in certain Courſes and Revolutions of Years.

Nothing is more evident from the whole Tenour of the New Teſtament, from the Writings of the primitive Fathers, and the Conſent of heathen Antiquity, than that the Chriſtian Faith was firſt promulgated as a *Goſpel of Peace*; and ordained, by its divine Founder, to be propagated only by *Perſuaſion* and *gentle Methods*, in the ſame Manner that he had inſtituted it, and proceeded to propagate it, whilſt on Earth; but it is equally certain, that the *Chriſtian* Religion was no ſooner eſtabliſhed by theſe gentle Meaſures, and had brought the *temporal Powers* into its Intereſt, than her corrupted Followers, elated with Succeſs, began to deviate from the Example and Precepts of their great Maſter, by turning the Engines of this World againſt Thoſe, who did not immediately own the Light of the Goſpel, and ſetting up *the Sword of the Fleſh*, in Oppoſition to the *Sword of the Spirit*; which our bleſſed Lord had appointed to be the only Weapon made uſe of in the Cauſe of his Religion.

On the other hand, the Impoſture of *Mahomet*, which was firſt founded in Blood, and propagated by the Weapons of this World, ſeems to be grown a pa-

cifick Religion, and to ſupport itſelf by the ſame Methods, by which *Chriſtianity* was firſt eſtabliſhed. We ſeldom hear of any Perſecutions ſet on Foot in thoſe Countries on a religious Account; nor do we find in their Hiſtories any great Maſſacres, Cruſadoes, and conſecrated Butcheries committed there, for the Propagation of their Faith, ſince the firſt Eſtabliſhment of it by thoſe Meaſures; but, on the contrary, They ſeem to allow of great Liberties in Matters of Religion, and to grant a free Toleration to all Sects of *Chriſtians*, for the Exerciſe of their Faith, upon no very hard and unreaſonable Terms.

In this Reſpect, therefore, the *Chriſtians* and *Mahometans* ſeem to have changed Sides; and however They may continue the ſame in Points of *Faith*, (which perhaps might alſo be diſputed) They certainly run counter to their reſpective Leaders, and mutually depart from the Examples, which They left them, for the Propagation of their different Faiths. I need not obſerve on which Side the Advantage lies; nor put the Reader in mind who have changed *for the better*; but ſhall only take Notice, that all *Chriſtian* Perſecutions, as well as every Species and Degree of them, on Account of Religion, are heighten'd with this Aggravation, that they are directly oppoſite to the plaineſt *Directions*, as well as the *Example* of our bleſſed Lord; whereas the Deviation of *Mahometans*, from Force and Severity to Lenity and Moderation, ſeems to be unattended with any poſitive Injunction of their Leader to the contrary.

The ſame *Viciſſitudes* may be alſo traced in *civil Affairs*, and the Conduct of *political Factions*; whoſe Principles and Opinions will be found to revolve in certain Periods; and, by imperceptible Degrees, fix in oppoſite Extremes. The Minds of the moſt rigid Partiſans and State-Bigots are ſubject to the ſame Revolutions with other Men, and fluctuate from one Opinion to another, in the ſame Manner that *Matter* appears

under

under different Shapes, and paſſes through a Variety of the moſt oppoſite Forms. This is a notorious and undeniable Truth; of which every Man will ſoon be convinced, who looks narrowly into the Hiſtories of all Countries, and takes a ſtrict Survey of the ſeveral *Parties*, which have prevailed in them; of their Profeſſions, Conduct, and the Meaſures, on which they have proceeded for ſeveral Years together, under different Circumſtances, and in different Situations, according as They have *prevailed*, or been *overpowered* by oppoſite Factions.

Of all Nations in the World, the *Engliſh* is moſt remarkable for its Ficklenеſs and Inclination to change. We are always in a Flux of Opinions, and never continue fixed in any long together; which is the Reaſon that we have undergone ſo many Shocks, Convulſions, and Viciſſitudes in our Conſtitution; perhaps more than any other People whatſoever. Whether this proceeds from that *Liberty*, which we enjoy beyond other Nations; or from the natural Inſtability of our *Climate*, (as ſome have imagined) ſeems to me a needleſs Enquiry; but it may not be improper to give a remarkable Inſtance or two of what I have been ſpeaking.

To go no farther back than the Reign of King *Charles* I.—The two great Factions, which at that Time divided the Kingdom, were the *Puritans* and the *Church-Party*; the *former* of whom diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their laudable Zeal againſt the exorbitant Meaſures of the Court; the Incroachments of the *Prerogative*; and manifold Invaſions of the Liberties of the Subject both in *Church* and *State*; of all which Grievances they demanded a Redreſs, and deſired that Matters might be ſettled on a better Foot for the future. On the other hand, the *Church-Party* or *Royaliſts* went ſervilely into the Projects of the Court, and undertook to maintain the Grandeur of the Prerogative againſt

what they called the republican Schemes and Demands of the *Puritans*. But as ſoon as an End was put to theſe unhappy Conteſts by the prevailing Strength of one Party, and the tragical Death of that unfortunate Prince, Things immediately took another Turn. The victorious *Puritans* began to oppreſs in the ſame manner with Thoſe, whom they had ſubdued; and the humbled *Royaliſts*, in imitation of their old Antagoniſts, grew very clamorous Advocates for the Rights and Immunities of the People.

At the *Reſtoration*, the Tables were turned again. The *Royaliſts*, under the new Denomination of *Cavaliers*, or the *Court-Party*, and afterwards of *Tories*, reſumed their old Spirit of exalting the *Prerogative*, when they were again exalted in Power; and the *Puritans*, now called the *Country-Party* or *Round-Heads*, and ſometime afterwards *Whigs*, became once more the popular Advocates and Sticklers for Liberty.

Since that Time, thoſe two great Bodies have ſeveral Times chopp'd about, and reciprocally changed Sides, juſt as their Leaders have happened to be *in* or *out* of Power.

I believe, it would be no hard Matter to prove, both from Hiſtory and Reaſon, that great Numbers of Men, who now flouriſh in Wealth and Favour, under the gracious Denomination of ſtanch *Whigs*, would, for the ſame Actions, have been eſteemed arrant *Tories* about *forty* Years ago; and that others are branded with the odious Appellation of *Tories* under this Government, for the *ſame Practices*, by which the *Whig-Party* made themſelves popular in *former Reigns*.

I deſign, in ſome future Paper, to preſent the Reader with a Syſtem of *ancient Whiggiſm*, as it ſtood in the Reign of King *Charles* II. in Oppoſition to the Syſtem and Meaſures of the *Tories*; from whence

whence our *modern Whigs* may judge of their own Likeneſs to the *Whigs* of thoſe Times, and determine how far They may think it proper to recognize the Principles and Practices of their Predeceſſors.

In the mean Time, the Reader will draw this Inference from what I have already obſerved; that it is Time to caſt off the Deluſions of *Party*, and to be no longer ſatisfied with NAMES inſtead of THINGS. Let us act like wiſe Men; and remember that *Liberty* is the ſame divine Bleſſing, whether it be diſpenſed to us under a *Whig* or a *Tory* Adminiſtration; and that *arbitrary Power*, or any Degree of it, cannot alter its Nature; but is equally pernicious, and equally deſtructive of the *Britiſh* Conſtitution, by whatſoever Hands, or under whatſoever Shapes, it ſhall be impoſed on us. The *Effects* will be equally felt, though the *Means* may be artfully concealed. And it farther deſerves our Conſideration, that although this Evil is equally miſchievous, as to its real Effects, by whomſoever it is obtruded on us; yet it receives ſome *Aggravation*, and becomes circumſtantially *more grievous*, when it is introduced under the *Diſguiſe*, and by the *pretended Champions* of *Liberty*; becauſe, in that Caſe, the Invaſion of our *Rights* is attended with the groſſeſt Affront on our *Underſtandings*; and we are treated, at the ſame Time, like *Children*, as well as *Slaves*.

D.

N° 18. *Tueſday, February 7.*

* NOVO SPLENDORE *reſurgit.*

IT has been often obſerved, and particularly in a late famous ENQUIRY, that *Satire is eaſier than Praiſe*; which can have no other meaning, than that thoſe Men, on whom *Praiſe* is commonly beſtowed, are, for the moſt part, ſo corrupt, and guilty of ſo many vile and unworthy Actions, that it requires a very nice and maſterly Addreſs to form a *Panegyrick* in ſuch a Manner, that the generality of Readers ſhall not underſtand the Author in an *ironical Senſe*, and take his *unjuſt Compliments* for *Banter*, *Grimace*, and *Ridicule*. When therefore it is ſaid, that *Satire is eaſier than Praiſe*, we can only infer, that the Pravity of human Nature affords us more Topicks for one than for the other; and when we are told, that it is very difficult to beſtow *Praiſe*, it muſt be underſtood of thoſe *Panegyriſts*, whoſe Buſineſs it is to varniſh over *Vice*, and laviſh their Encomiums on *unworthy Objects*; for *Pliny* very juſtly obſerves, in his excellent *Panegyrick* on that good Prince, whom he celebrates, *that it is an eaſy Task to return Thanks to one, who deſerves them; ſince as every Man is witneſs of his Virtues, ſo no Body can ſuſpect that the Author is not in earneſt.*

* *This Paper was publiſh'd after the Suſpenſion of the* Craftſman *for about a Week; occaſion'd by the Taking up of Mr.* Amhurſt, *Mr.* Francklin, *and other Perſons, ſuppos'd to be concern'd in it.*

Merenti

Merenti *Gratias agere facile eſt, Patres conſcripti. Non enim periculum eſt ne, cum loquar de Humanitate, exprobrari ſibi ſuperbiam credat ; quum de Frugalitate, Luxuriam ; quum de Clementia, Crudelitatem. ; quum de Liberalitate, Avaritiam ; quum de Benignitate, Livorem ; quum de Continentia, Libidinem ; quum de Labore, Inertiam ; quum de Fortitudine, Timorem.*

This gives me an Opportunity of diſcourſing upon *Irony*, *Innuendoes*, and *double Meanings* ; which, I hope, cannot be thought unſeaſonable at this Time ; when ſome Perſons, puſh'd on by a mercenary, officious Zeal, without *Knowledge* or *Judgment*, have endeavoured to explain my Writings, by theſe myſterious Methods, into a *Libel upon the Miniſtry* ; are calling upon the *ſæcular Arm* to juſtify their Abſurdities ; and, by falſe Informations, have drawn an *innocent Gentleman* into my Quarrel.

I am confident that every Man will acquit me of ſuch a Deſign, who knows what *Irony* means ; and that it is a *Figure* in *Rhetorick*, made uſe of to ridicule any Perſon, by praiſing him for Qualities, of which he is known to be deſtitute, or for the Contraries of which he is remarkable. Thus when a common Strumpet is extoll'd for her Chaſtity ; a Debauchee for his Temperance ; or a corrupt Miniſter of State for his diſintereſted Love of his Couutry ; the *Irony* holds good, and every Body underſtands the Author's meaning as well as if it had been expreſs'd in the plaineſt Terms. But where would be the *Irony*, or the *Satire*, in calling *Lucretia* chaſte, *Cæſar* valiant, or *Cato* juſt ? — Would not the World believe ſuch a Man *in earneſt* ; or laugh at his *Folly* and *Impotence* ? ——— It could not therefore be my Deſign, in any of the preceding Papers, to aſperſe the *preſent Adminiſtration*, in an ironical Manner, without being guilty of ſo great a Weakneſs as to imagine, that I could impoſe Characters upon the World, of which

Thoſe

Thoſe Gentlemen are a living and exemplary Confutation.

I am ſure my Writings do not give the leaſt Handle for ſuch an Imputation. I am ready to *enter the Liſts* with any of my Enemies upon this occaſion. Nay, I will DEFY *the worſt of them* to ſtand forth, and produce one Paſſage, where the Name of any Man in Power is mentioned with the leaſt ſhew of Diſreſpect. But if they will charge me with *double Meanings* and *Deſigns*, which my Soul abhors; if they will apply anonymous, ill Characters to their *Patrons*; and, when any general Strokes of Satire occur, will cry, This is all aim'd at * * * * * * or * * * * * or * * * * * * * I hope I ſhall not be anſwerable (at leaſt in the Opinion of thoſe *honourable Gentlemen*) for the Malice or Ignorance of ſuch Interpreters.

I ſuppoſe it will be granted, that there have been and, perhaps, that there ſtill are ſome *wicked, ignorant* and *corrupt Men*, who have met with undeſerved Preferment in *Great-Britain*, as well as in other Countries; which however ought to be no Reproach upon any Government; becauſe it is what the beſt Management, Care and Circumſpection cannot always prevent. The Land of *Liberty*, the Seat of *Learning*, the Nurſery of *Heroes*, the Favourite of Heaven, even this NOW *happy* and *envied Nation* (as the Author of the *Enquiry* very juſtly calls it) is not exempt from *worthleſs* and *miſchievous Members*, whoſe *Principles* and *Practices*, if not defeated, tend to its Deſtruction. ——— Againſt *Theſe* I have drawn my Pen; and againſt *Theſe only*. What is there in all This, to fix upon me the ſevere Imputation of reflecting upon *great, powerful* and *virtuous Men*?——— Many bitter Things have I uttered, from the unfeigned Indignation of my Heart, againſt *ambitious, corrupt Stateſmen*; *tyrannical Officers*; and *treache-*

rous Guardians of *popular Liberty*; againſt *unjuſt Stewards, Embezzlers*, or *Squanderers* of publick Money; againſt *Stockjobbers, Plunderers* and ENGROSSERS; againſt Men, who have *too much Cunning in Office*, and Men, who have *too little*; againſt *State Harpies* and *political Blunderers*. ——— Can any Body, without the moſt apparent Folly or Impudence, calls this a *Libel* upon the *Miniſtry*; who are all *juſt Stewards*; *gracious Magiſtrates*; *uncorrupt Adminiſtrators of publick Money*; endued with a proper Mixture of the *Serpent*, and the *Innocence* of the *Dove*; and, in every Part of their Characters, quite the contrary to what I have endeavoured to expoſe?

Let Thoſe therefore, who truly deſerve it, bear their Diſpleaſure; Thoſe, who, by explaining innocent Meanings into Scandal, and by drawing imaginary Parallels, have proſtituted their great Names in the Mouths of Libertines and Buffoons.

The Reader will obſerve, from what I have already ſaid, that my preſent Deſign is to wipe off a falſe Accuſation, which might do my Character a great deal of Prejudice, and not to bedaub them with nauſeous Panegyrick, *which cannot poſſibly do their Reputation any Good.*

Thus much I thought neceſſary to ſpeak on the preſent Occaſion; though I am ſenſible that ſome Perſons would have choſen to be ſilent; but I had rather, at any Time, do a *juſt Thing*, than a *popular* or *profitable* one; and when I lie under the leaſt Imputation of having injured any *worthy Gentlemen* in their Reputation, eſpecially my *Superiors*, I think my ſelf obliged, in Duty both to them and my ſelf, to remove all Grounds of ſuch a Suſpicion, and ſtop the Influence it may have upon weak Minds.

I flatter my ſelf that I have ſufficiently done This; and that, for the future, no *great Man* will be prevailed on to entertain an ill Opinion of me, by the falſe Repreſentation of any miſchief-making Perſons, who

who (I am well convinced) will ſpare no Pains to create a Miſunderſtanding between us.

All that I can add more upon this Head is, that as I always had an Eſteem for *Men in Authority*, ſuitable to their Merit; ſo I will let ſlip no Opportunities of diſplaying it to the World by the moſt publick and open Marks of Reſpect and Veneration.

Primâ *dicte mihi*, ſummâ *dicende Camœnâ*.

Having cleared my Way thus far, methinks I find my ſelf wonderfully eaſy in my Conſcience, and in a Diſpoſition to proceed with great Chearfulneſs and Alacrity in the Proſecution of this Undertaking.

I deſign, in a ſhort Time, to conſider the Caſe of *Irony* and *Innuendoes* in a *judicial* Light; and how far a *forced*, *diſtant*, or *inverted* Conſtruction of any Sentence is conſiſtent with common *Equity* and the *Liberties* of this Nation, when a *plain*, *natural* and *obvious* Meaning is ready at Hand.

In the mean Time, the Publick will give me leave to aſſure them, that, as long as the *Liberty of the Preſs* flouriſhes in any Degree; of which we have no Reaſon to doubt under this moſt excellent Adminiſtration; as long as the *Habeas Corpus* Act remains *unrepealed* or *unſuſpended*; the *former* of which, I hope, will never come to paſs; and I can ſee no Occaſion, at preſent, for the latter; as long as there is one *Printer*, *Bookſeller* or *Publiſher* in *London* or *Weſtminſter*, who ſhall not be intimidated to proceed in this Undertaking; I am reſolved not to deſiſt, till I have compleated my Deſign; and if, through any want of Skill in Language, and Unhappineſs in Style; or by the Querks, Subtleties, and nice Diſtinctions of State-Lawyers, I ſhould be underſtood in any Senſe contrary to my own Meaning, as well as to the Laws; I ſhall readily ſubmit to any Hardſhips, which I may ſuffer on that Account, and cloſe this dark Evening of a long and laborious Life, but ill-requited for all my paſt-

paſt-endeavoured Services, by giving up myſelf as a Sacrifice to the Reſentments of Power, Pride and Ambition; contenting myſelf with this Reflection, that I have always purſued what I thought the true Intereſt of his ſacred Majeſty King GEORGE, his illuſtrious Royal Family, and the Welfare of GREAT BRITAIN. *D.*

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Friday,

N° 19. *Friday, February* 10.

Si Te Propoſiti nondum pudet, atque eadem eſt mens,
Ut bona ſumma putes alienâ vivere quadrâ;
Si potes illa pati, quæ nec Sarmentus *iniquas*
Cæſaris *ad menſas, nec vilis* Gabba *tuliſſet,*
Quamvis juraro metuam Tibi credere Teſti. Juv.

NOthing can adminiſter more Relief from the Pain, which Thoſe of a generous Mind feel, upon ſeeing worthleſs Tools advanced and preferred to Men of real Merit, than the ſordid Dependance and vile Subſerviency, to which they are obliged to ſubmit. When a Wretch, without Merit or Parts, finds Favour in the Eyes of a *great Man*, and is taken into his Service, he muſt become an abſolute Creature to his Will, and ſtick at nothing to carry on his Deſigns; for it was on this Account only, that he was promoted above Men of Virtue and Underſtanding. He muſt aſſert Falſhoods, maintain Abſurdities, and reconcile Contradictions. He muſt be a Pimp, a Paraſite, and a Buffoon, as Occaſion requires. He muſt jump over Sticks, and lick up the Spittle of his Maſter. He muſt lie, ſwear, ſuborn and betray. He muſt have no Opinions nor Conſcience of his own. His Paſſions and Appetites muſt be always under Command; and his Heart and his Tongue move only by Direction In ſhort, he muſt be as mechanical as a *Clock* or a *Puppet*; acquiring That by *Habit*, which is *Neceſſity* in them; but above all, he muſt be conſtantly

ly ready at a dirty Job, and take it as a particular Honour to be concern'd in Actions, which deſerve the Gallows. Nay, he will ſometimes find himſelf obliged to mortify a corrupt Heart, and thwart a miſchievous Diſpoſition, by being employ'd in the Cauſe of Truth, Virtue, Honeſty and Juſtice, whenever they happen to ſtrike in with the Views and Intereſt of his *noble Patron*.

It is very pleaſant to obſerve the Conduct of *theſe Men*, when they have a bad Cauſe to palliate, or ſome neceſſary Falſhood to defend; to ſee how the poor Creatures are forced to ſhuffle, evade and prevaricate; how they will bob, turn and double like an hunted Hare, till they are driven to the laſt wretched Shifts of appealing to *Authority*, and making it *Treaſon* to diſpute or expoſe their Abſurdities; tho' at the ſame Time (which makes it ſtill more diverting) they generally aſſure us that, as for themſelves, they are perfectly *unprejudiced*, and ſpeak without any Attachment to *Parties* or *Perſons*.

If you ask their Opinion of any *publick Tranſaction*, or of a *new Book*, which has any Thing of a political Nature interſpers'd in it, they will either totally decline any Anſwer, till they have a proper Cue given them; or hæſitate, ſhrug up their Shoulders and demur. If you preſs them farther, they will look round them very circumſpectly on every Side, to ſee that no ſuſpicious Perſon is near, who may happen to catch an unwary Word out of their Mouths, and carry it to their *Maſters*. If They find that the Coaſt is clear, perhaps they will vouchſafe to favour you with a tedious, long-winded Period, in the Form of an Anſwer, dropt out by Piece-meal, Word after Word, in the moſt cautious and deliberate Manner; keeping up your Attention with broken Sentences, Suppoſitions, and dark Intimations, fill'd up with wiſe Nods, Winks, and political Grimaces, for half an Hour together; and, at length, leaving you to conclude, either that

they *underſtand nothing of the Matter*, or elſe dare not truſt you with their *real Opinion*.

I ſtepped, one Day laſt Week, into a Coffee-houſe near *Covent-Garden*; where I found a Knot of theſe abject Creatures in diſpute with another Set of Men, who ſeem'd to be more diſintereſted. Their Diſcourſe turn'd on a *certain worthy Gentleman*, who had very much encumber'd his Eſtate by ſeveral vexatious *Law-ſuits*, and the bad Management of his *principal Servants*.

Both Parties profeſſed an equal Reſpect for him; but one of Thoſe, who ſeem'd to be moſt heartily and truly his Friends, began to bewail his Circumſtances, and hoped that the Experience of his paſt Conduct would induce him to retrench his *Expences*; to live more *neighbourly*; and endeavour by *Frugality* to recover his Affairs.—To which one of the *Creatures* reply'd, with ſome Vehemence, that he was of a different Opinion, and thought the beſt way for his Friend to *get out of Debt*, was to borrow *more Money*; live juſt in the *ſame Manner*; keep the *ſame Servants*; and *go to Law* with every Man, who gave him the leaſt Provocation.———The Company began to ſtare at This; upon which, ſaid he, I know, Gentlemen, that this Aſſertion may ſeem ſomewhat odd to thoſe Perſons, who are not thoroughly acquainted with theſe Subjects, and have not accuſtomed themſelves to this Manner of Reaſoning; but I will undertake to demonſtrate the Juſtneſs of it to the meaneſt Capacity; whereupon he call'd for a Pen and Ink, and ſcrawl'd over a Sheet of Paper, with Figures, Schemes, and Calculations; by which means he puzzled the Underſtandings of the Company in ſo maſterly a Manner, that his Opponents were obliged to give up the Point, and drop the Diſpute.

This made him proceed with more Freedom and Alacrity, by aſſuring us that it was undeniably a great Advantage to any Gentleman to be in debt, and mort-

gage

gage his Eſtate; becauſe, ſaid he, it keeps thoſe Perſons, who *lend* the Money, in a conſtant Dependance on him, who *borrows* it; and ſtrengthens the *Title* to his Eſtate, by lodging his Securities in *other Hands*.

The ſame Gentleman was pleas'd to obſerve, that the Practice of STOCK-JOBBING, as it ſeems to be eſtabliſhed in this Kingdom, was one of the greateſt Bleſſings, which a Nation can enjoy; as it makes Money *circulate*, by confining it to a *few Hands*; encourages *Trade*; promotes *Induſtry*; and is of great Advantage to the *woollen Manufacture*.

He told us farther, that the beſt Form of Government in the World is That, where the moſt *abſolute* and *unlimited Confidence* is repoſed, not in the *Prince* himſelf (which has been a common Error in Politicks) but in his *Miniſters*; and he did not ſcruple to aſſert that *England* always proſper'd moſt, and made the greateſt Figure under thoſe Reigns, in which the PRIME-MINISTERS have been known to preſide over their SOVEREIGNS.

I was quite thunder-ſtruck with ſuch extraordinary Maxims, and went away full of Admiration of our northern MACHIAVEL.

Now I am upon this Subject, I muſt not forget to take Notice with what great Dexterity theſe Gentlemen can invert their Opinions, and chop about with every Breath of State-Wind; for it is one of the main Branches of their Duty, not only to *ſay any thing* to ſerve a Turn; but likewiſe, if it be found expedient, to *unſay* it again and maintain the other ſide of the Queſtion, with equal Confidence and Vigour; a Part, which I have often had the Pleaſure to ſee them act, with the utmoſt Facility, and without any Marks of Shame or Remorſe.

I need not go far back for Inſtances of This. Almoſt every Body can remember the Time, when an Alliance between *Britain* and *France* was repreſented, by *certain Gentle men*, as the moſt unnatural Conjunc-

tion in the World. It cannot be forgot what Pains were taken to demonſtrate This from the very *Climate* and Situation of the Country; from the *Genius*, *Manners*, *Trade*, and *Manufactures* of the People; but, above all, from that *old*, *innate*, *hereditary Enmity*, which they have been found to bear to this Nation. Nay, they went ſo far as to brand them by wholeſale as a profligate Race of Men, who were incapable of *Friendſhip* and *Fidelity* to any of their Neighbours. The *bona fides* of *France* was become as proverbial as the *Punick Faith* of old, and eſteemed a ſort of Paradox in Politicks; inſomuch, that it was judg'd unſafe to put any Confidence in their moſt ſolemn Aſſurances. I could not, at that Time, approve of ſuch general Reproaches on a brave and great Kingdom, which I looked on as too violent and partial; and I bleſs God for ſparing my Life ſo long, as to ſee theſe zealous Patriots convinced of their Miſtake, and fully ſatisfy'd that the *French* Nation is capable of being a true and faithful Ally to *Great Britain*.

But we may ſtill bring this Affair much nearer to the preſent Times—What was more talk'd of, about a Year ago, than the formidable Strength of the King of *Pruſſia*? We were told, by ſome Perſons, that he had ſuch a numerous and powerful Army on Foot; ſo well officer'd and diſciplin'd; that he was almoſt *ſingly* able to meet the *Emperor* in the Field?—What his Majeſty of *Pruſſia* has done ſince to forfeit the good Opinion of theſe Gentlemen, I know not; but it is plain that their Language is ſtrangely alter'd of late. Indeed they ſtill own that he has a *large Army*; but then it is chiefly compoſed of *forced Men*; is ſo *ill paid*; and there is ſuch Danger of their *revolting*, that his Aſſiſtance is now ſcarce worth our Acceptance.

On the other hand, *Gibraltar* ſeem'd to loſe Ground, at the ſame Time that his *Pruſſian* Majeſty flouriſh'd in their Eſteem; for it is well known *who* were induſtrious, about a Year ago, in repreſenting that Fortreſs,

treſs, eſpecially in the City, of much *leſs Importance* than it was generally eſteem'd; but now Things are quite alter'd. The King of *Pruſſia* is grown *inconſiderable*; and *Gibraltar* is thought of the *utmoſt Conſequence* to *Great Britain*.

The ſame almoſt may be ſaid of the *Oſtend Trade*; which has been alternately repreſented as a Matter of *very great* and of *no Importance*, at different Times, for ſome Years paſt. It is certain that, at one Time, *ten thouſand Pounds* was eſteemed too high a Purchaſe of it. But, I think, the Abolition of it is now generally allow'd to be of very *great Importance*—to the *Eaſt-India Company*.

Before I conclude, it is proper to obſerve, that theſe time-ſerving Wretches form all their Notions of Mankind, according as they are *in* or *out* of Favour with their Patrons. For this Reaſon, it is no uncommon Thing to hear a Man extoll'd in their Diſcourſes as an *Angel* one Day, and degraded into a *Dæmon* the next. Not only his *Probity*, but his *Abilities* alſo, which were before univerſally acknowledged, ſhall immediately leſſen in their Eyes, and ſhrink up like a *Gourd*, as ſoon as the Influence of the Court Sun is withdrawn from them. Experience every Day gives us ſufficient Proof of This; which is ſo true, that I remember, about ſix Years ago, I happened to be in a publick Coffee-houſe, where I heard one of the *greateſt Orators* of the Age, who was at that Time under a little Cloud, repreſented, with the general Approbation of the Company, as a *mere Babler*.

It is farther obſervable, that when any Perſon, from a true Zeal for his King and Country, thinks himſelf obliged to oppoſe the wicked Views of *great Men*, theſe abandoned Proſtitutes are always ready with the cry of *Diſaffection*, *ill Deſigns*, *Change of Principles*, *Diſappointments* and *Revenge*; which they would have regarded as a full Anſwer to the ſtrongeſt Rea-

ons and Repreſen- ons; for judging of others by their own ſordid Views, they think it impoſſible for any Man to be actuated by any other Principles than *Self-Intereſt*, *Ambition* or *Reſentment*.

By theſe Means they hope to diſcountenance *Truth*, and bring *Publick-ſpiritedneſs* and *Patriotiſm* into contempt.

But ſuch kind of Reproaches come very awkardly out of *their Mouths* at preſent; ſince they were ſo lately confuted by the Practice and Example of ONE, (whoſe Authority, with *Them* at leaſt, is undiſputed) who, within the Memory of almoſt every Child, did himſelf take the Liberty to diſſent from his Superiors, in the moſt publick, violent, and (I might ſay) outragious Manner; and, ſpeaking, at that Time, like a *Country Gentleman*, exclaim'd very loudly againſt ſuch Reflections as *unjuſt*, *unparliamentary*, and tending only to eſtabliſh an *abſolute Dependance* on the COURT.

What I have ſaid, on this Head, can only relate to *bad Miniſters* and *unworthy Dependants*; for a *great Man*, who has nothing but the Good of his Country at Heart, has no Occaſion for ſuch *Tools*, and would ſcorn to make uſe of them; from whence it is natural to infer, that we may, at any Time, in a great Meaſure, judge of the *Deſigns* of *Stateſmen* from the *Favourites* they chuſe, and the *Inſtruments* they employ.

D.

Monday,

N° 20. *Monday, February* 13.

Ploravere ſuis non reſpondere Favorem
Speratum meritis. HOR.

AS it is very melancholy to conſider the great *Decay of Learning*, which is, at preſent, univerſally complain'd of; ſo nothing can be more provoking, than to hear the ſorry Excuſe, which is made for it, by imputing it to *want of Encouragement*; a Pretence ſo falſe and idle, that it can proceed from nothing but the Unwillingneſs of all Men to acknowledge their own Deficiencies; which makes them apologize, in this ridiculous Manner, for the preſent Dearth of *Wit* and *Learning*, by the pretended want of *Patronage* and *Favour*.

They endeavour to impoſe this Aſſertion upon us for Truth, by telling us that *polite Literature* is a tender ſort of Plant, which ſhoots up and flouriſhes, whilſt it feels the warm, enlivening Beams of the Sun; but pines, languiſhes and dies, when it is left in the Shade.

Now, though This ſhould be admitted to be true, as much as it contradicts an old Maxim, that *Wits are always born ſo*; yet the Inference, which they draw from it, in Defence of our modern *Dulneſs* and *Stupidity*, is ſo notoriouſly falſe and unjuſt, that nothing but the great Regard, which I have for ſome Men in Power, could induce me to confute it in this publick Manner.

Indeed, for my part, I am fully againſt the *old verb*, and firmly believe that the Smiles and Favour

Pro

vour of a Court tend as naturally to promote Learning, and excite the Induſtry of Mankind in cultivating their Parts, as the Influence of the Sun does to ripen and improve the Fruits of the Earth. As ridiculous as This may ſeem to ſome People, yet Thoſe, who have had as much Experience as my ſelf, and have made the ſame Obſervations, which I have done, will find that it generally holds true. For this Reaſon, it is my Opinion, that nothing can be a greater Encouragement to uſeful Learning of all Kinds, than to ſee Men of great Abilities and liberal Underſtandings placed at the Head of Affairs, in all the great Employments of the Kingdom; who, to ſhew their own good Senſe, will fill up the inferiour Offices, which are in their diſpoſal, with Perſons of known Ability, Merit and Service; and always prefer ſuch a Man to one, who comes to them with no Qualifications or Pretenſions whatſoever, unleſs it be a round Sum of *Money*, or the Intereſt of ſome near *Relation*, who is perhaps as worthleſs a Tool as himſelf,

WHEN Things are ſeen to go on in this Manner, it ſpreads an Air of Chearfulneſs and Satisfaction over the Face of a Kingdom; gives Life and Vigour to the Induſtry of its Inhabitants; and quickens the Application of all Thoſe, who have no other Way to diſtinguiſh themſelves in their Country, than by Worth, Capacity, and Knowledge.

And though, even under ſuch a juſt and impartial Diſtribution of national Favours, ſome would be ſtill left to repine under Diſappointments and fancy'd Neglect, becauſe no Government is large enough to ſatisfy the Neceſſities and Expectations of all; yet it would, in a great Meaſure, ſilence their Murmurings and Complaints, when they ſaw this Method obſerved, of always having a Regard to Merit, and could not object that *Fools* or *undeſerving Creatures* were advanced above Them.

Whereas,

Whereas, when the contrary Method prevails; when no Regard is had, in the Diſpoſition of Offices and Favours, to the *Fitneſs* or *Unfitneſs* of Men; when Ability, Merit, and former Services are of no Weight in the Scale; when all uſeful Arts and Sciences are held in Contempt; when the Muſes pine in Obſcurity, and Learning is look'd on as a Diſqualification, rather than a valuable Endowment; when, in ſhort, the Favours of *great Men* are heaped only on Themſelves, their own Relations and immediate Dependants; when all Places of Truſt, Honour, and Profit center in *two* or *three Families* at moſt; when Penſions, Preſents, Grants, Patents and Reverſions are either *ſold* or *engroſſ'd*; and every thing runs in the ſame foul Channel of *Corruption* and *Self-Intereſt*; then, I ſay, Men of Merit and Ability have juſt Reaſon to complain, remonſtrate and proteſt; and it is ridiculous to expect that Arts, Wit or Learning ſhould flouriſh, in any Degree, under ſuch a rapacious, ſelfiſh and uſurious Adminiſtration.

I have formerly ſeen ſomething too much like This in *England*; but, I bleſs God, That melancholy *paſt Proſpect* is now vaniſhed; and we have the particular Happineſs to live under an *Adminiſtration*, which is not only compoſed of the *ableſt Heads*, and moſt *uncorrupt Hearts* in the Kingdom, but hath alſo been conſtantly obſerved to ſhower down their Favours on thoſe Perſons only, who poſſeſs the ſame excellent Talents and Diſpoſitions with themſelves. Ignorance and Inſufficiency, joined with a ſordid, complying Spirit, are no Recommendations in theſe halcyon and truly *golden* Days; but Probity, Capacity, Knowledge and Learning are, of themſelves, the beſt Pretenſions; and *Merit*, of any Kind, is the certain forerunner of *Notice* and *Diſtinction*.

Let the moſt inveterate Malecontent, the moſt malignant Obſerver of our preſent Happineſs, look carefully into the CHURCH, and take a ſtrict Survey of all

all our late *eccleſiaſtical Promotions*; whether they be of the right reverend Fathers the BISHOPS, or of other inferiour Paſtors and Curates. Let him, with the ſame ſtrict Eye, review our *civil Offices*, where the Buſineſs of the STATE is more immediately tranſacted; and I will defy him, with all his Spleen, Diſappointments and Prejudices about him, to inſtance by Name one individual Perſon, of either ſort, who does not ſeem, as it were, cull'd and ſelected from the whole Nation, as the moſt *proper* Man to execute and adorn his reſpective Function or Employment.

Let him afterwards turn his Eye to the Commonwealth of *Letters*; and I will challenge him, with the ſame Confidence, to inſtance any Period of Time, when *Wit* and *polite Literature* were more openly and amply encouraged than at preſent; not excepting even the two famous Reigns of *Auguſtus* and *Louis le grand*. How many *Men of Wit* could I mention, who have been lately advanced to Poſts of great Profit and Honour? What a multitude of generous Preſents, Penſions, and Stipends could I enumerate, if I thought it agreeable to the Modeſty of the Donors? Methinks I behold a *Mecænas*, a *Pollio*, a *Somers*, or an *Halifax* in almoſt every great Family. But how am I ſtruck with Raptures, when I caſt my Eyes on HIM, who ſits at the Helm, and does not diſdain to patronize the *Muſes*, at the ſame Time that he ſupports and adorns the *State*? Let his *own immortal Poet*, who is himſelf a Witneſs and Partaker of his Munificence, ſing his Praiſe, to which I find myſelf unequal.

> *The Streams of Royal Bounty, turn'd by* THEE,
> *Refreſh the* dry Domains of *Poeſy*.

This Complaint, therefore, *of want of Encouragement*, is ſo ridiculous and unreaſonable, that it can proceed only from a few little *Wit-wou'ds*, *Scioliſts* and

and *Poetaſters*; who, not having Merit enough to diſtinguiſh themſelves, have recourſe to this poor Refuge, and are willing to ſcreen their own Incapacities under ſo plauſible a Pretence; for the *want of Encouragement* to real Wit and Learning is ſo far from having any Foundation in Truth, that we have, for ſome Years paſt, ſeen the greateſt Encouragement given to the Sound only, the Shadow, and the Echo of them. What ſqueezing and crouding have there been at the Raree-ſhews of *Harlequin* and *Scaramouch*; at the Entertainments of Madam *Violante*, her *Tumblers* and *Rope-dancers*; at the ſtrange Tricks of *Poſture-maſters* and *High German Artiſts*; beſides ſome *other Diverſions*, which I chuſe not to mention? Nay, I am told, that we may ſoon expect a new Sett of Comœdians from *Lapland*; who are coming hither, under great Protection, to divert the Nobility and Gentry of this happy Kingdom; and will, it is ſaid, excel every Thing, which was ever yet ſeen on the *Britiſh* Stage.

This is a ſufficient Demonſtration to me, that there will be no *Encouragement* wanting to Men of *Wit* and *Learning*, when I ſee moſt of the greateſt Perſonages in the Nation hugging and careſſing the dull Apes and and Mimicks of them, in ſo extraordinary a Manner.

I hope theſe diſſatisfy'd, repining Spirits will at leaſt allow that, however other Parts of Learning may have been neglected and deſpiſed, yet no *Encouragement* has been wanting to *ſatirical Writings*; and if they do not ſoon produce ſome excellent Pieces of *this Kind*, I think they will be fairly left without any Excuſe, and I ſhall be willing to give them up to all the Severity of the Patrons of the *Ancients*.

Indeed, we have had ſome very good Specimens of this ſort of Writing already publiſhed; *one* of which ſeems to laſh Mankind in too ſevere and general a Manner. However, as there is a great deal of *Wit* in that Book; ſo I am ſorry to ſay, for the Sake of human

human Nature in general, and of my own Country in particular, that, I am afraid, there is *too much Truth in it.*

I heartily wiſh that all Books of *this Kind* may have their Effect, as far as it is for the Intereſt of this Kingdom; and I doubt not that they will convince *ſome Gentlemen* of the fond Miſtake, which they ſeem to have long entertain'd, and of the Truth of my Lord *Shaftsbury*'s Obſervation, *viz. That if* Writers *are of no Conſequence to the Publick, it muſt be their* own Fault. *A.*

ADVERTISEMENT.

Juſt Publiſh'd,

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——— quid non mortalia pectora cogis
AURI *ſacra fames?*

To be ſold by T. W. *in* Pater-noſter-row; *of whom may be had, juſt publiſh'd,*

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Fabula quanta fui? ———

N° 21. *Friday, February* 17.

Curſe on his Virtues! *They have undone his Country.*
Such popular Humanity *is Treaſon.* CATO.

Popular Affection, when juſtly obtained, (that is, by truly promoting the Intereſt of the People) is the higheſt Honour, which a Mortal can enjoy, and one of the ſureſt Marks of publick Felicity; for when a Man poſſeſſes the general Love of any Community, it is natural to infer that the Community eſteem him their general Benefactor; and certainly no Reſpect, Honours or Reward, which the People can beſtow, are too great to teſtify their Gratitude to Him, who approves himſelf worthy of that Character.

Popularity therefore, in this Senſe, on this Foundation, and under theſe Reſtrictions, is due to every *true Patriot* (a Character, indeed, ſomewhat ſcarce!) and is a good preſumptive Proof of the Happineſs of that Nation, under which it is obtained. But this deſirable Bleſſing is ſo often acquired by falſe Means, beſtowed on worthleſs Objects, and apply'd to bad Ends, that an honeſt *Briton* cannot be too cautious on whom he confers it, nor how he is influenced by it, when conferr'd by others. The vulgar Multitude judge honeſtly of publick Affairs, as far as they come within their Knowledge; and, having no Hopes of ſharing in the Adminiſtration themſelves, deſire only to live quietly and eaſily, in the free Enjoyment of what they daily earn; incumbered with as few Taxes and Drawbacks, as the real Neceſſities of the Pub-

lick will admit. For this Reaſon they always reſpect, and, in a manner, venerate Thoſe, who ſeem to conſult their Intereſt, and endeavour to preſerve them in the ſecure Poſſeſſion of their Rights and Privileges. But they are ſo liable to be impoſed on by falſe Shews, and artful Pretences, that we are not always to look upon their Favour as the Badge of real Patriotiſm, and a truly publick Spirit; for, on the contrary, we ſhall find that it is too often acquired by ſiniſter Methods, in order to carry on ſome crafty and pernicious Deſign. The wiſeſt and beſt conſtituted Governments of old (eſpecially the famous Republicks of *Greece* and *Rome*) were ſo ſenſible of This, that it was made criminal for any of their Members to affect uncommon *Popularity*, and conciliate too much the Minds of their Fellow-ſubjects. Accordingly we find, in their Hiſtories, ſeveral Inſtances of the moſt eminent Patriots, who were baniſhed, and otherwiſe treated as Enemies to their Country, only for rendring themſelves too much beloved by general Largeſſes and Donations, or other extraordinary Acts of publick Beneficence; for which Severities thoſe Nations have been often reproached, by ſucceeding Ages, with Injuſtice, Barbarity, and Ingratitude; but if we examine their Conduct, in this Particular, with Candour and Impartiality, I believe we ſhall find that they acted a very prudent and commendable Part. They ſeemed to judge very rightly of human Nature. They knew the Temptations of *Power*, and how *Popularity* is apt to turn the wiſeſt Heads, and corrupt the pureſt Hearts; for which Reaſon, they thought it impolitick to let the moſt deſerving of their Fellow-ſubjects poſſeſs a Power, which he might turn againſt them, or truſt their Liberties to the private Virtue and Integrity of any Man whatſoever.

Indeed, the Hiſtories of all Nations, as well as of theirs, abound with ſo many Inſtances, in which the Favour of the People has been moſt traiterouſly abu-

ſed

ſed and perverted to wicked Purpoſes, that, to a ſerious and thoughtful Mind, their Conduct ſtands in need of no Juſtification; for whenever we read of any great profeſſed Patriot, who falls under ſignal Diſgrace or Puniſhment, on Account of his popular Intereſt and Eſteem, though acquired by the juſteſt Methods, we ought not to interpret it as proceeding from any ill Will to Virtue or publick Good; but as the Effect of political Precaution, and of the Jealouſy of a wiſe People for their ancient Rights and Liberties.

But there is another ſort of *Popularity*, which is infinitely more dangerous than what I have been ſpeaking of, and has been more ſtudied, in theſe latter Ages, by ambitious and deſigning Men. I mean *Popularity* among the *chief Perſons* of any Nation; which becomes ſtill more dangerous and vile, when it is cultivated by *venal* and *corrupt Methods*. This is indeed the moſt comprehenſive Method of becoming *popular*, as it ſaves abundance of Trouble in cajoling the Affections of the Vulgar, and ſtooping to a thouſand little pleaſing Arts, to which ſome modern great Spirits do not care to ſubmit.

A Man, who ſets up for a diffuſive and univerſal Love of the People, muſt put himſelf under ſeveral uneaſy Reſtraints in his Behaviour, and guide every Action of his Life with the utmoſt Caution, Tenderneſs, and Circumſpection. He muſt be courteous, affable and generous; muſt ſubmit to the wayward Tempers of a fickle Multitude, and adapt himſelf to every Character. He muſt be *all Things to all Men*, and humour them in all their various Appetites, different Views, and fantaſtical Opinions. He muſt humble himſelf to the Pride of the loſty; conſult the Intereſt of the avaritious; and conform to the Intemperance of the Libertine. He muſt drink or pray, whore or cant, be a Saint or a Sinner, juſt as

his Company ſhall pleaſe to preſcribe, or ſet him an Example.

Whereas a Man, who is Maſter of the other compendious Method, and has it in his Power to put it in Practice, will find no Occaſion to ſtudy the Inclinations of the People, nor even ſo much as pretend to a Zeal for their Intereſt. He knows a much ſhorter Way to compaſs his Deſigns, by bringing over a whole *Borough*, a *City*, or a *County* at once into his Intereſt; and obtaining, by theſe Means, the general Aſſent of the Nation to his own ambitious Deſigns. He becomes, in this Senſe, very *popular*, at the ſame Time that he is univerſally *odious*, and retains the *Vox Populi* on his Side, in ſpight of their Teeth.

Nor is it at all difficult to accompliſh ſuch a Deſign, in a vicious and depraved Age, when Profuſeneſs, Extravagance, and a general Spirit of Libertiniſm grow predominant in any Nation; eſpecially among Perſons of a ſuperiour Rank, who are intruſted with the Rights and Liberties of the People; for when once Luxury has fix'd a deep Root in their Minds, it will ſoon get the better of their noble Faculties. It will emaſculate, ſoften and melt down all thoſe ſtubborn Virtues, which are the natural Effects of Temperance and Frugality; the Conſequence of which is, that a Man thus debauched and effeminated will, in order to ſupport himſelf in the ſame vicious Manner, fall into any Meaſures, which are dictated to him with a Proſpect of Advantage, and ſacrifice the moſt valuable Rights of his Country for a faſhionable Town-houſe, a ſplendid Equipage and an elegant Table.

But as it is very eaſy for any Man in Power to acquire this ſort of *popular Affection*; ſo it is hardly poſſible to withſtand its Influence, or diſappoint its Deſigns.

There are ſome Hopes that a Man, who arrives at *Popularity*, by Courteouſneſs, Affability, and a munificent

nificent Spirit, may really be in earneſt, and exert theſe amiable Virtues from a natural good Diſpoſition, and without any private View; for it is poſſible, at leaſt, even in this Age, that a diſintereſted Zeal for the publick Good may be the prevailing Paſſion in ſome Breaſts; and that there may ſtill exiſt a few particular Men, in whom the innate Love of their Country remains uncorrupted with any ſordid and mercenary Conſiderations. There may be others, who, though they have not the ſame noble and ſincere Affection for the Publick, yet are fond of *Popularity*, for the ſake of *Popularity*, and find their Ambition ſufficiently gratify'd by the Shouts and Acclamations of a numerous Multitude. Nay, even ſuppoſing that a Man endeavours to inſinuate himſelf into the *popular Favour*, with a bad Deſign; yet, if he does not attempt it by corrupting the *Leaders* and *Guardians* of the People, the Danger to the Publick is not very great; for it is impoſſible for the craftieſt Brain to impoſe very long on the Majority of a Nation. He may, for ſome Time, reign in Eſteem, and trapan the Affections of his Countrymen by plauſible Pretences, artful Declarations, and a ſeeming Concern for their Service; but when his latent Deſigns appear, (as at length they muſt) the People will withdraw their Affections; his general *Popularity* will be turn'd into a general *Odium*; and he will feel the Reſentments and Indignation of Thoſe, whoſe Favour he has abuſed.

But the Caſe is quite otherwiſe with Thoſe, who make themſelves popular by *venal* and *corrupt* Methods. *Money*, the Root of all Evil, is alſo the ſtrongeſt *Cement* in the World. It binds together Perſons of the moſt oppoſite Complexions, and is a more laſting Tie than Honour, Friendſhip, Relation, Conſanguinity or Unity of Affections. When any Perſon therefore takes an annual or other Salary for giving his Opinion that *black* is *white*, it is in vain

for us to endeavour to convince him of the contrary. Perſuaſion to ſuch a Man is of no effect, and Reaſoning is thrown away upon him. The ſtrongeſt Arguments leave no Impreſſion on his Mind, and the cleareſt Truth has no Charms in his Eyes. He is inliſted in the Service of his Patron, and muſt always fight on that Side, let the Cauſe be what it will, from which he receives his Pay. It is ridiculous to talk of *Right* to a Man, who is præ-engaged, and hired to judge *wrong*; or to argue about Juſtice, Conſcience, and Equity with one, who has taſted the Sweets of acting upon different Principles.

It is a Labour more difficult than any, which *Hercules* overcame, to prove that there is any inherent Malignity in a *good Place*; or that any Actions can be unjuſt, or any Arguments invalid, which are ſupported and inforced with the Rhetorick of a *thouſand Pounds a Year*.

Ambitious and ill-deſigning Men, in former Ages, were not ignorant of This. They knew how precarious, as well as troubleſome, that ſort of *Popularity* is, which ſubſiſts only upon the Foundation of worthy Actions; and how permanent That, which is eſtabliſhed upon Self intereſt, Bribery and Subornation.

Tacitus informs us, that *Auguſtus* paved his Way to Dominion by theſe Methods; for having laid aſide the Title of *Triumvir*, and taking upon himſelf only the Character of *Conſul*, under a ſpecious Pretence that he had nothing at Heart but the good of the People (whoſe Favour he at firſt cultivated by ſeveral generous Actions,) He grew *inſolent* by Degrees, and at length *engroſſed* the whole Power of the Empire into his own Hands—*Inſurgere paulatim; munia ſenatus, magiſtratuum, legum in ſe trahere, nullo adverſante; cum ferociſſimi per acies aut proſcriptione cecidiſſent; cæteri* nobilium, *quanto quis ſervitio promptior*, opibus & honoribus *extollerentur*; *ac* novis ex rebus *aucti, tuta & præſentia, quam vetera & periculoſa mallent. Ne-*

que

que provinciæ illum rerum ſtatum abnuebant, ſuſpecto ſenatûs, populique imperio ob certamina potentium & avaritiam magiſtratuum; invalido legum *auxilio, quæ vi, ambitu, poſtremo* PECUNIA *turbabantur.*

We had, not many Years ago, an Inſtance amongſt ourſelves of a *great Man*, who ſupported himſelf in Power, for ſeveral Years together, by the ſame Methods; the moſt ſhining Part of whoſe Character conſiſted in an eaſy, inſinuating Addreſs, and his skilful Management of *popular Aſſemblies.* He was particularly famous for a certain happy Talent at finding out the *weak Sides* of Mankind, and his Dexterity in applying a *Bribe*; for having been uſed to take Money himſelf, in a *corrupt Manner*, before he was in Power, he knew by Experience the moſt *genteel* and *agreeable* Method of offering it to others. But Hiſtory informs us that, notwithſtanding the Aſſiſtance of immenſe Sums of *Money*, which procured him great Veneration in a *certain Place*, whilſt living; yet his Death occaſioned a general Joy, even among ſome of his moſt abandoned Creatures (who, at length, grew weary of his Yoke) and the Memory of his Name and Actions hath been ever ſince held in univerſal Abhorrence. *A.*

Monday,

N° 22. *Monday, February* 20.

——— *Dii* talem *terris avertite* Peſtem ! Virg.

AS there muſt be, in all well-regulated States, a Variety of Officers, in a due Subordination one to another, for the Management and carrying on the Buſineſs of the Publick; ſo the Nature and Power of theſe Officers vary, in different Nations, according to the different Conſtitutions of their reſpective Governments. For this Reaſon, in abſolute Monarchies, we generally find a Perſon inveſted by the Prince with the ſole Management and Direction of all his Affairs, under the Title of PRIME MINISTER; who is, by Virtue of his Office, as he commonly proves himſelf to be by his Actions, an *arbitrary Vice-Roy* or *Deputy Tyrant*. But the Power of ſuch a *Miniſter* ſeems to be inconſiſtent with the Nature of a *free State*, whether a *Commonwealth* or a *limited Monarchy*; (unleſs it be upon extraordinary Occaſions; as the *Roman Dictators* were created of old) becauſe the abſolute, uncontroulable Will of *one Man* has been generally found to end in the Deſtruction of *Liberty* in general; and though it may be ſaid that a *limited Monarch* cannot delegate *more Power* than he is inveſted with himſelf, and therefore cannot make any of his Miniſters *abſolute*; yet every ſuch Prince has *too much Power* to be repoſed in the Hands of any of his Servants; for Experience ſhews us, that a worſe Uſe is commonly made of the *Regal Authority*, when in the Poſſeſſion of a *private Subject*, than under the Direction of the *Prince* himſelf; and

there

there ſeems to be an obvious Reaſon for This; ſince a King, who is poſſeſſed, during Life, of all the Power, Prerogative, and Juriſdiction, which are agreeable to the fundamental Laws of the Country over which he reigns, and has the ſame Rights intailed on his Poſterity, cannot, without being a Man of very ill Principles, have any farther Views; becauſe his true Intereſt, upon a little Recollection, will inſtruct him to confine his Thoughts within theſe ſacred Barriers. Whereas a *Miniſter*, who is in great Power to-day, and perhaps afraid of loſing it to-morrow, (eſpecially, if he be a Man of a *ſmall, paternal Inheritance*) will be tempted to amaſs exorbitant Wealth by indirect Methods, and aggrandize his *own Family* at the Expence of the Publick. Nay, even ſuppoſing the Caſe of a *bad Prince*, who, through the Inſtigations of Ambition, or a cruel, tyrannical Diſpoſition, ſhould be inclined to oppreſs his Subjects, I believe the Bulk of the People would be much more eaſy under any Hardſhips, which could be laid upon them by their *Sovereign*, than ſuch as they ſhould ſuffer from one of their *Equals*.

This is ſufficient to ſhew, that the Office of a *Prime Miniſter* is, in its Nature, of dangerous Conſequence to a *free People*; but there is another Conſideration, which, though it be not of the ſame Importance, ought to make every rational *Briton* join his Voice and his Intereſt againſt ſuch an over-grown Power in any of his *Fellow-Subjects*; for,

When a *Prince* reſerves the Prerogative in his own Hands, or divides it amongſt a certain Number of his Subjects, to be adminiſter'd in an *equal* Manner (as it has been moſt uſual in this Kingdom) the royal Smiles, Favours and Honours, as well as the Offices of the Kingdom, both great and ſmall, are commonly diſtributed in the ſame *equal* and *impartial* Manner. Whereas, when the whole Power of the Crown has been lodged in a *ſingle Hand*, we may obſerve that Grants, Titles

Titles and Preferments have been generally *monopolized*, and the whole Bounty of a Court thought little enough to ſatiate the craving, hungry Appetites of *one Family*.

Nay, we have ſeen this Spirit of *Rapine* and *Voraciouſneſs* carried to ſuch an heighth, under ſome Adminiſtrations, that, not content with all the *Crown* has had in its Power to beſtow, they have attempted to engroſs the Favours and Suffrages of the *People*; nor do I want Inſtances to ſhew, that oppoſing only the *Welſh Couſin* of a *great Man* has been call'd *oppoſing the Miniſtry*, and look'd on as a Mark of *Malignancy* and *Diſaffection*.

As inconſiderable and ſelf-intereſted as this Obſervation may ſeem, yet it certainly ought to have ſome Weight in a free Nation; for the preſent moſt excellent Biſhop of SARUM very juſtly obſerved, in anſwer to one of his Opponents in a late famous Controverſy, that, altho' no Man has a *natural Right to a Place at Court*; *yet every Man has a Right to get one, if he can*. And, if the old, beaten Topick of all the *Whig-writers* can be juſtify'd, *that a Kingdom was not made for* one *Man*, meaning the PRINCE, it could not ſurely be deſigned only to gratify the Pride, Avarice, and Ambition of a PRIVATE SUBJECT.

But as ſuch a Power in any *Miniſter* is contrary to the true Intereſt of the *People*; ſo it is alſo of dangerous Conſequence to the *Prince himſelf*; eſpecially in a *limited Government*.

An *abſolute Monarch* indeed, who is under no Reſtraint but his own Will, may raiſe a Favourite to what heighth of Power he pleaſes, without being under any great Apprehenſions from his Treachery or Ambition; becauſe he can pull him down, when he begins to grow inſolent, with the ſame high Hand that lifted him up. But a *limited Monarch*, who, in order to reign happily, is obliged to preſerve an Harmony and good Underſtanding with his People, (who are, by

by the Conſtitution, join'd with him in the *legiſlative Power*) ought to be very cautious how far he aggrandizes any of his Servants, or truſts the Power out of his own Hands; becauſe a *Miniſter*, who has the Diſpoſition of *Preferments* and *Honours*, may ſtrengthen himſelf ſo much by *Cabals*, *Alliances*, *Obligations*, and *immenſe Wealth*, that it may become dangerous for the Prince to diſplace him; even though he ſhould be, *perſonally*, as ill-beloved by *himſelf*, as he is by the *Generality of his Subjects*.

I have now before me a little Book, intitled, *Rules of* GOVERNMENT; *or, a true Ballance between* SOVEREIGNTY *and* LIBERTY; *ſaid to be written by a Perſon of Honour, immediately after the late* CIVIL WAR; *and now publiſhed* (in 1710.) *to prevent another*. Though this Treatiſe is chiefly written in an *High-Church* Strain, (which I preſume, will be no Objection to its Authority at *this Time*) yet it contains ſome honeſt Directions upon this Subject, which I beg leave to tranſcribe.

He tells us, in one Place, (ſpeaking of *Counſellors*) *that Overgreatneſs in* one, *or over-ſtrict Combination in a few, may be both dangerous to a Prince*. In another Place he ſays, that it is a great Fault in a Prince "to "look upon no Man *himſelf*, but through a *Glaſs*; "or as the Image of a Man is reflected unto him "from a *Favourite*, or ſome *great Officer*; for This is "to *ſtrengthen their Root*, and *weaken his own*; for "here, though the *Guilt* is his, the *Obligation* is "another's. This makes him have *many Attendants* "but *few Servants*; for Servants, placed about him "by *great Men*, are rather *their Spies* than *his Ser-*"*vants*. Such Unconcernedneſs as This, who are "about him, makes him appear like a *Town blocked* "*up*. He can *freely* receive no Proviſions he ſtands "in need of; and his own Servants are diſheartened, "by perceiving *great Mens Friends* or *Servants* every "Day preferred or gratified before them. This

"Courſe

" Courſe chills all *Publick-ſpiritedneſs*; for Men, in-
" troduced by *Favourites*, think they ſhall laſt no
" longer than their *Patrons*, who are often *changed*,
" or in the *Wain*; and ſo they come unto a Court
" like *Harveſt-Men*, who ſerve only in a ſhort Time
" to *reap* That, which others *plowed* and *harrowed*;
" or they work only in *fair Weather*, and when the
" Corn is carrying into the Barn.

The ſame Author gives as wholeſome Advice to *Miniſters of State*, in the following Paragraph; which I do, by theſe Preſents, humbly beg Leave to recommend to the ſerious Conſideration of all *great Men* in the ſeveral Courts of *Europe*.

" A wiſe Counſellor, *ſays He*, will not *engroſs too*
" *many Affairs* into his own Hands, nor encroach
" upon *other Mens Offices*; nor be apt to *undervalue*
" them in it, to raiſe his *own Credit* by the Loſs of
" *other Mens*; for he that does good Offices to *others*,
" is in the beſt way to make *hearty Friends* to him-
" ſelf; and he muſt be patient to hear other Mens
" *Advices*; nay, with ſome Reſpectfulneſs, bear their
" *Follies*; and he muſt be unconcern'd when his *own*
" *Counſels* are not comply'd with, or are laid aſide.

I ſhall leave theſe wholeſome Directions to Thoſe, whom they may concern, and conclude with obſerving in general, that the Office of a *prime Miniſter* ſeems to be calculated for an *abſolute Government*; though, in my Opinion, even ſuch a Government would fare much better, if the Prince would vouchſafe to manage his Affairs himſelf. But the Power of ſuch an Officer is entirely repugnant to the Safety of a *free State*; which is ſo fully demonſtrated by *Hiſtory* and *Experience*, that I need not inſiſt upon it any farther. In Governments purely *popular*, I cannot, at preſent, recollect any Inſtance of ſuch a *Miniſter*; unleſs it be of the famous *De Wit* in *Holland*; whoſe terrible Fate will, in all Probability, deter others from attempting ſuch a Power. In *England* we have been often

often peſter'd with theſe over-grown, rapacious *State-Leeches*, in former Times; but for ſeveral Years paſt we have been pretty free from them; the firſt great VILLARS, Duke of BUCKINGHAM, being the laſt Miniſter of that ſort in this Kingdom; and I hope, the laſt we ſhall ever ſee here!—I have already preſented the Reader with ſome of thoſe excellent Inſtructions, which were given him for his Behaviour in that high Station, by that great and good Man Sir *Francis Bacon*, in the Infancy of his Power; and I deſign very ſpeedily to ſhew what an ill Uſe he made of them, in a ſhort Review of his *Life* and *Conduct*; which will farther corroborate what I have ſaid in this Paper, and prove that ſuch an exorbitant Power, as is before deſcribed, is prejudicial to the *Liberties* of this Nation; to the Honour and Welfare of a *Britiſh* King; and to the true Intereſt of a MINISTER himſelf.

D.

N° 23. *Friday, February* 24.

——Timores *inter* & Iras. Hor.

IT is an old eſtabliſhed Maxim in Politicks, *that a true-bred Stateſman ſhould have no private Paſſions*; that is, He ought to be a Man of ſuch a ſedate, ſteddy, and determined Temper, that he may not be interrupted, in the Conduct of his Schemes and the Purſuit of his Intereſt, by thoſe light and ſudden Paſſions, which are apt to agitate and ruffle weak Minds. Nay, ſome grave Reaſoners

ſoners and Refiners upon this Subject have gone farther, and maintain'd that a *ſtanch Politician* ought not only to be exempt from Intemperance, Effeminacy, and other common Frailties of human Nature; but ſhould alſo enfranchize his Mind from the Dominion of what are commonly call'd the nobler Paſſions; that he ſhould be incapable of Love or Hatred; that he ſhould not ſuffer himſelf to be ſway'd by any vulgar Notions of Gratitude, Honour or Juſtice; nor be tempted to deſiſt from the Execution of his Deſigns by the frail Impulſes of Pity and Remorſe; that he ſhould have no Regard to Friends, Relations or Benefactors, when it interferes with his private Views; nor reſent, as other Men do, the moſt provoking Injuries or the higheſt Obligations, when his Intereſt (that great ruling Principle) inſtructs him to forget them.

I am not, I confeſs, *Machiavillian* enough to approve of ſuch Maxims, or to propoſe them as Leſſons, which ought to be follow'd. They have been, God knows, and ſtill are too much practiced in moſt Courts, to ſtand in need of any Recommendation, or to be diſcountenanced by any Arguments. Happy, alas! would it be for the World, if all *great Men* wanted any Inſtructions of this ſort; or were backward to conſult their own Intereſt, by ſacrificing to it all other Conſiderations, both of a publick and private Nature!

There is indeed one Rock, which many of the ableſt State-Pilots, with all their *diſpaſſionate Indifference*, have not been able to avoid; even though they have been amply forewarn'd, by the calamitous Fate of their Predeceſſors, to uſe the utmoſt Caution and Circumſpection to keep clear of it. I mean that *Inſolence* or *Impetuoſity* of Temper, which Power is apt to beget in great Minds, and commonly ends in Ruin and Diſgrace; for Paſſion and Vehemence tend, more than any thing elſe, to exaſperate and provoke Indignation,

tion, as well as to unboſom the ſecret Thoughts, and diſcover thoſe Foibles or ill Deſigns, which it ſhould be always the Buſineſs of a *great Man* to conceal.

When ſuch an *over-bearing Spirit* gets the better of a Man of an honeſt and worthy Diſpoſition, it is a real Misfortune to the Publick; but when it poſſeſſes a corrupt Mind, we ought to congratulate the Society in which it prevails; for Experience teaches us to look on Rage, Choler, and Impatience of Oppoſition as the laſt Struggles and Convulſions of an *expiring Miniſter*.

Some Men are born with this violent, imperious Frame of Mind; which ſeems to have been the Caſe of Cardinal WOLSEY; who was naturally a Man of ſuch an arrogant, domineering Temper, that he could not keep it from breaking out in the groſſeſt, perſonal Inſults, even upon his *Royal Maſter*, who had honoured and aggrandized him with Power and Wealth in the moſt partial and extravagant Manner; and as his own Intereſt and moſt immoderate Ambition could not reſtrain it, ſo it occaſioned that grievous and ignominious Diſgrace, under which he afterwards fell. But there are others, who, being naturally Men of a more placid, courteous and affable Diſpoſition, have been betrayed into the ſame *Vehemence* and *inſolent Behaviour* by a long Run of Power, Proſperity, and Succeſs. Whilſt the Sun ſhone upon them, and the Ship ſail'd briskly before the Wind; whilſt moſt of the Paſſengers approved their Conduct, and flatter'd their Abilities, you could ſee nothing but Smiles on their Faces, and the utmoſt Complaiſance in their Behaviour. They preſerved an Eaſe, Serenity, and outward Benevolence in all their Deportment; which extended even to thoſe few, who diſſented from the Majority, and complain'd of their Management. But as ſoon as Things took another Turn; when the Clouds began to gather, and the Billows to riſe about them; when moſt People were ſeized with a Pannick,

and their late Obſequiouſneſs was converted into Murmurs and Diſcontent; then their Behaviour was ſeen immediately to change; and from the moſt obliging, humble and condeſcending Creatures in the World, they have grown the moſt peeviſh, captious, and dogmatical Wretches upon the Face of the Earth; for having been habituated, from the Applauſe and Adulation, which were formerly paid them, to believe themſelves *infallible* in all their Proceedings, they now looked on the leaſt Contradiction or Oppoſition, as a perſonal Affront to their Underſtandings, proceeding from ſome perſonal Reſentment, and a manifeſt Outrage on their Grandeur and Authority.

We meet with an Inſtance, in ſome Reſpects, of this ſort in *Weſton*, Earl of PORTLAND, who was *Lord High Treaſurer* in the Reign of that unhappy Prince King *Charles* I. — My Lord *Clarendon* informs us, that this *great Man* "did appear, on the "ſudden, wonderfully elated, and ſo far threw off his old "Affectation to *pleaſe ſome very much*, and to *diſ-* "*pleaſe none*, in which Art he had excell'd, that in a "few Months after the *Duke* of *Buckingham*'s Death, "he found himſelf to ſucceed him in the *publick Diſ-* "*pleaſure*, and in the Malice of his Enemies, with- "out ſucceeding him in his *Credit* at Court, or in "the Affection of any *conſiderable Dependants*; and "yet, though he was not ſuperior to all other Men "in the *Affection*, or rather *Reſignation* of the King, "ſo that he might diſpenſe Favours or Diſfavours ac- "cording to his own Election, he had a full Share in "his Maſter's Eſteem; who looked upon him as a "wiſe and able Servant, and worthy of the Truſt "he repoſed in him; and received no other Advice "in the large Buſineſs of his *Revenue*; nor was any "Man ſo much his *Superior*, as to be able to leſſen "him in the King's Affection by his Power. So that "he was in a Poſt, in which he might have found "much Eaſe and Delight, *if he could have contained*

"*himſelf*

" *himſelf within the Verge of his* own *Province*; " which was large enough, and of ſuch Extent, that " he might, at the ſame Time, have drawn a great " Dependance upon him of very *conſiderable Men*, " and appeared a very uſeful and profitable Miniſter " to the King; whoſe Revenue had been very *looſely* " *managed* during the late Years; and might, by In- " duſtry, and Order, have been *eaſily improved*. And " no Man better underſtood what Method was neceſ- " ſary towards that good Husbandry than *He*.

" But I know not by what Frowardneſs in his Stars, " he took more Pains in examining and enquiring in- " to *other Mens Offices*, than in the Diſcharge of *his* " *own*; and not ſo much Joy in what *He had*, as " Trouble and Agony in what *He had not*. The " Truth is, He had ſo vehement a Deſire to be the " *ſole Favourite*, that he had no reliſh of the Power " he had —— *He tells us afterwards*, that he found " the Number of his *Enemies exceedingly encreaſed*, " and others to be *leſs eager* in the Purſuit of his " Friendſhip, and every Day diſcovered ſome *Infir-* " *mities* in him; which, being before known to few, " and not taken Notice of, did now expoſe him to " *publick Reproach* and to *private Animoſities*. And " even his *Vices* admitted thoſe Contradictions in " them, that he could hardly enjoy the pleaſant Fruit " of any of them.

" No Man, *ſays He*, had greater Ambition to " make his *Family great*, or ſtronger Deſigns to leave " a *great Fortune* to it ——*That, in order to do this*, " he had avowedly and ſowerly croſſed the Pretences " of *other Men*, and reſtrained the *King*'s *Bounty* " from being exerciſed almoſt to *any* —— which, " from the Duke's Death, ran in narrower Channels, " and never ſo much over-flowed as *toward Himſelf*, " who ſtopped the Current to *other Men*".

The *noble Hiſtorian* goes on thus. " He was of " an *imperious Nature*, and nothing wary in diſobli-

" ing and provoking other Men; and had *too much* " *Courage* in offending and incenſing them; but, af- " ter having offended them, he was of ſo unhappy a " *feminine Temper*, that he was always in a terrible " *Fright* and *Apprehenſion* of them.

And juſt after, He ſays, " That he quickly loſt the " Character of a *bold*, *ſtout* and *magnanimous Man*; " which he had been long reputed to be in *worſt* " *Times*; and, in his moſt proſperous Seaſon, fell " under the Reproach of being a Man of *big Looks*, " and of a *mean* and *abject Spirit*.

" To conclude; all the Honours the King con- " ferr'd upon him (as he made him a Baron, then an " Earl, and *Knight of the Garter*) could not make " him think himſelf *great enough*. Nor could all the " *King's Bounties*, nor his own *large Acceſſions* raiſe " a Fortune to his *Heir*; but after *ſix* or *eight* Years " ſpent in *outward Opulency*, and inward Murmur " and Trouble that it *was not greater*; after vaſt " Sums of Money, and great Wealth gotten, and ra- " ther conſumed than enjoyed; without any Senſe or " Delight in ſo great Proſperity, with the Agony that " it was *no greater*; he dy'd *unlamented by any*; bit- " terly mentioned by moſt, who never pretended to " love him; and ſeverely cenſured and complained of " by Thoſe, who expected *moſt* from him, and de- " ſerved *beſt* of him; and left a *numerous Family*, " which was, in a ſhort Time, *worn out*, and yet " *out-lived* the Fortune that he left behind him.

I am ſenſible, that I have, in ſome Meaſure, de- parted from the firſt Deſign of this Paper, which was to expoſe the Abſurdity and Folly of *Paſſion* and *Vehe- mence* in publick Miniſters. But there is ſomething ſo particular and remarkable in the Character of this *great Man*, that I could not avoid the Opportunity of being ſomewhat circumſtantial in my Relation of it from ſo maſterly an Hand. It cannot however be ſug- geſted, with any Reaſon, that I dwelt ſo long upon it, in

in order to draw any *invidious Parallel*; (which has been, of late, objected againſt ſome of us *political Writers)* becauſe I know no Man at preſent in being, in whom *all* theſe Circumſtances can be ſuppoſed to concur. To put an End therefore to this Digreſſion, without any Apology, I will humbly beg Leave juſt to obſerve, that ſuch an haughty, bluſtring and imperious Behaviour is in no Place more unbecoming than in a *popular Aſſembly*; where all the Members, conſidered as ſuch, are equal to one another, however their Circumſtances may differ in other Reſpects, as to Wealth, Favour, Titles or Power. It is therefore highly derogatory to the Honour and Privilege of ſuch an *Aſſembly* for any Perſon to preſume ſo far on any *extraneous Superiority*, as to inſult, menace, and browbeat the reſt of his Brethren; which diſcovers a ſtrong Intimation that he thinks his dictatorial Voice ſhould always be uncontradicted and definitive; and that they meet there together in order to jump unanimouſly into all his Opinions; to gratify his Pride only; and facilitate his Deſigns.

Caius Fabius, the famous *Roman Tribune*, was a Man of this hot, inſolent and ungovernable Temper; but it ought to be conſidered, in his Excuſe, that in him it was a *natural Infirmity*; that He was ſenſible of it himſelf; was aſhamed of it; and endeavoured, by all Methods, to keep it under; as appears by the following Story, recorded by *Plutarch*.

This Author tells us, in the Lives of thoſe two celebrated Brothers, *Tiberius* and *Caius*, "That the "one was *ſmooth* and *ſedate*; the other *rough* and "*paſſionate*; even to ſuch a Degree, that often, in "the midſt of his Orations, he was ſo much hurryed "away by his *Paſſion*, even againſt his own Will, "that he deſcended to give ill Language, and ſtrained "his Voice in ſuch a Manner, that he could not pro-"ceed in his Speech. For a Remedy to this Exceſs, "He made uſe of an ingenious Servant, one *Licinius*

" by Name, who ſtood conſtantly behind him with " a *Pitch-pipe*, or muſical Inſtrument to regulate his " Voice by; and whenever he perceived his Maſter's " Tone alter, and grow harſh with Anger, he breath- " ed a ſoft Note with his *Pipe*; at the hearing of " which, *Caius* immediately bated the Vehemence " of his *Paſſion* and *Voice*; grew mild; and was eaſily " recalled to Temper.

I have often lamented that no Author has thought fit to give us a particular Deſcription of this curious Inſtrument, for the Inſtruction and Uſe of Poſterity; and as often wonder'd that none of our ingenious *Mathematical Inſtrument-makers* have attempted ſomething of that Nature. I am ſure it would amply reward all their Pains and Labours; eſpecially if they could obtain a *Patent* for the ſole making and vending thereof; which could not certainly be deny'd to the Reviver of ſo uſeful a Machine in an Age, which ſeems to ſtand in great Need of it. But till that is done, I would humbly recommend it to be conſidered, whether the *Opera* might not be made uſeful to the State, by placing the celebrated Sig. *Sineſino* and other *Italian* Artiſts behind ſome of our *popular Orators*, in order to ſoften and modulate the Tone of their Voice, and thereby preſerve a *Moderation* and *Decency* in our publick Debates. *A.*

ADVERTISEMENT.

Juſt publiſhed,

PRELUM TRIUMPHANS; *Or, a full Vindication of the* LIBERTY OF THE PRESS; *extracted from the* Writings, *and enforced by the* Example *of the Right Reverend Father in God* BENJAMIN, *late Lord Biſhop of* BANGOR; *in Anſwer to the* MONITOR *and the* LONDON JOURNAL.

——*quantum* mutatus *ab* ILLO! Virgil.

Printed for *T. W.* in *Pater-noſter Row*; and ſold by the Booksellers of *London* and *Weſtminſter*. Price 1 s.

Monday,

N° 24. *Monday, February* 27.

Content, with Hands unſoil'd to guard the Prize,
And keep the Store with undeſiring Eyes. Tickel.

A good natur'd writer is always better pleaſed with an Opportunity of recommending Virtue than of chaſtiſing Vice; but in either Caſe, if he would be agreeable to his Readers, at the ſame time that he propoſes to be uſeful to the World, it will be proper for him to pitch upon ſome *great Man* to be as it were the Vehicle of his Inſtructions to the Publick, by making him the Subject either of his Panegyrick or his Satire,

I do not hold it always needful for an Author to be ſearching into Antiquity, in Order to retail out ſome muſty Hero of former Days, and recommend him as a Pattern to the preſent Age. If our own Times furniſh us with Examples of Men laudable for any remarkable Virtues, I cannot ſee any Reaſon why an impartial Writer ſhould not ſet forth ſuch Perſons in their true Luſtre, publickly avowing them as Ornaments of the preſent Age, and exhibiting them as Examples to Poſterity. But if ſuch truly worthy Men are to be met with in *lower Life*, it will be ſtill better, and have much more Weight; ſince *Flattery*, in ſuch a Caſe, or *mercenary Views* (to the Imputation of which we Authors are often liable) can never be laid to his Charge.

I have in my Eyes a Man, and will venture to name him to the Publick, whom, when I have drawn his Character, all Mankind muſt agree to be an illuſtrious Model of Virtue and Integrity for after Ages, He is

One,

One, that has long had the Management of a *publick Revenue*; and yet all the World is convinc'd that he has not improved his Circumſtances, nor added one Shilling to his Fortune by it. The Subjects pay their *voluntary Taxes* into his Hands, with Pleaſure, becauſe they are ſatisfy'd that what they do pay, for the *publick Service*, will be employ'd to no other Purpoſe; and that no *Calls* will, at any Time, be made on the Proprietors, but when there ſhall plainly appear to be an abſolute Neceſſity for ſo doing. Every Body has a ſanguine Confidence in his Integrity, being ſatisfied that he is *uncorrupt himſelf*, and will never ſuffer his *inferior Officers* to plunder by his Authority or Connivance. The *publick Treaſure* is expended with Prudence and managed with Frugality. He carefully looks into every Branch of his Office, and will not permit any, who are under him, to embezzle the publick Money, or run away with any Part of the Revenue; much leſs with the *whole Revenue*; as, by letting it lie long neglected in any *under Officer's* Hands, They might poſſibly be tempted to do. He is not only free from Corruption, but guards himſelf againſt all *Neglects* in the Diſcharge of his Duty, and looks on Crimes of *Omiſſion*, in ſuch a Caſe, to be full as unjuſtifiable as Crimes of *Commiſſion*; ſince if the Publick is *defrauded*, or loſes a conſiderable Sum of Money, it is of but little Conſequence to them, whether the *Treaſurer* puts it in his own Pocket, or lets any of his *Deputies* put it into theirs, or ſquander it away. He gives fair, regular and diſtinct Accounts of every Farthing, which he expends for the *publick Service*, and has always ſhewn the utmoſt readineſs to ſupply Thoſe, who have a Right to ask for them, with any *Papers* or *Vouchers*, that may be judged neceſſary for the explaining any Part of his *Account*. He is, in ſhort, a Man of undoubted *Integrity*; of conſummate *Wiſdom*; and of exemplary *Gravity*. He is compoſed and ſedate in his Conduct; rigid in his Morals; and tall in his Perſon; ſlow in his Speech, yet uſing

uſing many Words; and to conclude all, *a* TREASURER *with* clean *and* empty *Hands!*

I am perſuaded, that every Reader muſt, by this Time, perceive that I can mean no Body, in my Deſcription of the foregoing Character, but that very worthy and excellent Man Mr. KIPLIN, *Treaſurer to that honourable Corporation, the Royal Academy of* MUSICK.

This great, able and honeſt Miniſter has, of late, had two very formidable Powers to contend with. I mean the Companies of *Drury-Lane* and *Lincoln's-Inn-Fields*; who have entered into an Alliance, which ſeems very *unaccountable* in two Powers, who were but lately ſuch mortal Enemies, *that they could hardly be kept within the Bounds of common Decency towards one another, by all the Addreſs and* Mediation *of the Town*; and yet, at the ſame Time, *privately* run into one another's Arms, *and unite in Deſigns deſtructive to the* Rights *of the* ACADEMY, *with all the Marks of cordial Affection and a reſolute Friendſhip.*

But notwithſtanding all theſe Difficulties, (to his Honour be it ſpoken) He has not yet put us to one Farthing Expence on the Account of *ſecret Service*; and I am confident that he will always ſcorn to *ſhelter* any Sum under that Head. If he cannot *conquer*, he will not *corrupt*; and as He has Veteran Troops in the *Opera* Service, he thinks them ſufficient for his Purpoſe; without hiring or ſtanding in Need of *mercenary* Auxiliaries. *Friends*, who are to be had for *Money*, and *Enemies*, who are to be *ſubdued* by it, are, in his Opinion, equally deſpicable.

The *Italian Comedians*, in this Warfare, weree willing to have acceded; but he wiſely diſcovered that they were very likely to become an *expenſive Ally*; and ſo dexterouſly got rid of them. Happy is it for this Society (of which I have myſelf the Honour

Honour to be a Member) that we have ſo worthy and uncorrupt a Man in the Management of the *Treaſure* of it! With what Contempt do I look down on the *greateſt Men*, when I compare them with Mr. KIPLIN, and find them inferior to him in Virtue and Integrity?

The Earl of *Leiceſter*, in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time, was a very great Man; but you will find this ſaid of him in the *Memoirs* of his *Life*; (p. 78.)

ROBIN *playeth the* BROKER *in all his Affairs, and maketh the uttermoſt Penny of her Majeſty every Day.*

Happy, thrice happy Mr. KIPLIN! of whom This cannot be ſaid with any Juſtice, even by your Enemies!

I remember another unlucky Application made to *a late Treaſurer* (I mean in Queen *Anne*'s Reign) from one of Sir *John Suckling*'s Plays.

There's little ROBIN, *in* Debt *within theſe few Years, grown* FAT *and* FULL.

But who can impute to Mr. KIPLIN, that he is either FAT or FULL?

I could produce a thouſand Foils out of Hiſtory to illuſtrate the Character of this upright, great Man; but One more ſhall ſuffice. When the *Earl of* CLARENDON was impeached, the Largeneſs of his Fortune and the ſudden Acquiſition of it was made an *Article* againſt him. In his *Anſwer* he acknowledges that if the *Fact* could be proved, the Conſequence of *Guilt* would be undeniable; and, in his *Defence*, he urged that he was not really poſſeſſed of the Wealth, which the World ſuppoſed him to be. The only Inference, which I ſhall draw, in Behalf of Mr. *Kiplin*, is, that if *immenſe Riches* be alone a ſufficient Proof of *Guilt*, *Poverty* ought certainly to be allowed a Mark of the utmoſt *Honour* and *Integrity*. Such a Man I will pronounce Mr. KIPLIN to be, and do hereby recommend him as an Example and Pattern to all TREASURERS, preſent and to come.

C.

ADVER-

ADVERTISEMENT.

Juſt Publiſhed,

A Condolatory Epiſtle to his Royal Highneſs DON CARLOS; *occaſioned by the reported Pregnancy of her* IMPERIAL *Majeſty, the Empreſs of* GERMANY, *and her* MOST CHRISTIAN *Majeſty, the Queen of* FRANCE.

DON CARLOS, by marrying the eldeſt ARCH-DUTCHESS, cannot fail of being EMPEROR; ſo that DON CARLOS may poſſibly be at once EMPEROR, King of FRANCE and King of SPAIN.

Enquiry into the Reaſons, &c.

Printed for *T. W.* in *Pater-noſter-Row*.

N° 25. *Friday, March* 3.

AS it it is my Deſign, in the Courſe of theſe Papers, to pay the utmoſt Regard to all the kind Aſſiſtances of my Correſpondents, as far as it ſhall be conſiſtent, in any Meaſure, with the original Intention of this Undertaking; ſo I muſt rely on the good Nature of theſe Gentlemen; who will, I hope, indulge me in ſome Liberties, that it will be neceſſary for me to take with their Letters, by *adding* or *retrenching*, where I ſee Occaſion for ſo doing; as well as in the Publication of them; in which it will not always be proper for me to obſerve the ſame Order of Time, in which I receive them. On the other Hand, I am ready to aſſure them, that I will never preſume to take any wanton, or officious Freedoms of this Sort, by making any Alterations, but where I think it abſolutely

neceſſary or expedient for the better carrying on this Deſign; nor will I uſe any Partiality in preferring one Letter to another, any farther than as it conduces to the ſame End; ſo that every Gentleman's Thoughts may appear in their proper Place, at the moſt ſeaſonable Time, and conſequently to the beſt Advantage.

I hope this general Apology will ſatisfy all Perſons, who ſhall pleaſe to favour me with their Correſpondence; and that it will, in particular, excuſe me to the Gentleman, who obliged me with the following Letter, as well as to Thoſe, whoſe Thoughts have not yet ſeen the Light.

To CALEB D'ANVERS. *Eſq;*

SIR,

WHEN your UNCLE died, he was poſſeſſed of ſeveral *Plantations* in the *Weſt-Indies* Colonies, which are now veſted in you, amongſt his other Eſtates, by Virtue of his laſt *Will* and *Teſtament*. They were then in good Order, and in flouriſhing Circumſtances; for as he was ſenſible of their Value, and how beneficial they were to his Eſtate in *Staffordſhire*, he wiſely encouraged his *Tenants* to improve them. But alas! how have they ſince gone to Decay, through the rapacious Temper of *ſome* of your *Stewards*, and the Ignorance of *others*, who had the Care and Management of them! by which Means, many of your *Tenants* have been obliged to remove; and it is thought that others will follow, to the great Detriment, if not the utter Ruin, of thoſe Eſtates. Good Mr. D'ANVERS, make ſome Enquiry into thoſe Affairs, before it be too late. Conſider the Conſequence to your own Intereſt, as well as to Them. Should they continue under the ſame or any other Diſcouragements, how will you be able to vend many Commodities, which are produced from your

your Eſtate in *Staffordſhire?* Has not that Eſtate been improv'd from twenty to thirty Years Purchaſe, ſince thoſe *Plantations* have been in your Family? Will it not be affected in Proportion as they decline? How will you cultivate thoſe Lands, or procure new *Tenants*, ſhould the preſent Poſſeſſors quit their Leaſes? It is high Time to look into the Conditions granted by your *Uncle*, which encourag'd them to go over (at the hazard of their Lives and Fortunes) to ſettle thoſe Lands and to ſee them punctually perform'd; and ſince ſuch great Advantages ariſe from the Labour of thoſe induſtrious People, it is certainly your Intereſt rather to augment than diminiſh their Privileges, as it may induce others to go over, and by thoſe Means the Value of your *Eſtates* will be increaſed proportionably.

The World is perfectly convinc'd of your humane and compaſſionate Temper; of which the Appointment of your *Stewards*, from Time to Time, are certain Demonſtrations; but then your own Intereſt and the Eaſe and Satisfaction of your *Tenants* ſeem to have been very little, if at all, conſidered.

I am inform'd that *one of your Plantations* will admit very great Improvements, having ſome thouſand Acres of manurable Land belonging to it, which has hitherto been neglected and uncultivated. Is it not your Intereſt to ſend over an able, judicious Perſon to manage it; one that underſtands the Nature of Soils; who has ſome Knowledge in Trade; and will be at the Pains of looking into former Miſmanagments, and rectify them; one, who conſiders Mankind as his *Fellow-Creatures*; and tho he has a Superiority over your *Tenants*, yet will not treat them as his *Vaſſals*, and invade their juſt Rights and Properties, in manifeſt Breach of the laudable Precepts of *your Family*?

It is reported, that ſome of your *Tenants* had taken a Reſolution of acquainting you with their *Grievances*, which were become almoſt inſuportable; and accordingly wrote you a *Letter*, in the moſt humble and

ſubmiſſive Terms; but notwithſtanding the fair Speeches of *one* of your Servants, and his Promiſes to deliver it, there are ſome Grounds to believe that it never came to your Hands; for it was ſoon after taken up dirty and torn in St. *James's-ſtreet*, where he either deſignedly or careleſsly dropped it.

A NEIGHBOURING GENTLEMAN, who is of *French* Extraction, has two or three *Plantations*, at no great Diſtance from yours. It is almoſt incredible, what vaſt Improvements he has made on them within a few Years; for however ſtrictly he purſues the rigid Maxims of his *Predeceſſors*, yet he juſtly conſiders that the only Way to make them flouriſh, is to grant his *Tenants* and *Servants* ſuch Priviledges as may induce them to go over and ſettle there. By ſuch like Methods his *Plantations* thrive to that Degree, that wanting more Land, he makes no ſcruple of running to his next Neighbour, who is his UNCLE; and 'tis thought that in Time he will joſtle him out of the Whole. If he uſes ſo near a *Relation* after that Manner, what may you expect, whenever it is convenient for him, or he has it in his Power? For whatever *Profeſſions* he makes to you may be only *grimace*. Very few of your Friends imagine him to be *ſincere*; or that he has any *real value* for you. In ſhort, Mr. D'ANVERS, I don't like the Principles of that *young Gentleman*, who has made ſuch early Diſcoveries of the ſame Temper and Diſpoſition, which his *Grandfather* was of; and He was ſo *litigious* an old Gentleman; that 'tis well known he was all his Life at *Law* with his *Neighbours*; that he ſeldom had leſs than *two* or *three Suits* at a Time, upon his Hands, and ſometimes *ſeven* or *eight*; and that he bore an *implacable Enmity* to your UNCLE, who had the Goodneſs to ſupport *Thoſe*, who were not otherwiſe able to go to Law with him, in Defence of their juſt *Rights* and *Properties*.

As I have been at his *Plantation*, as well as yours, I intend hereafter, if I find it will be acceptable, to give

give you ſome other Hints, which may be uſeful; for I have Reaſon to believe that you have very imperfect Notions of them, as well as your *domeſtick Servants*, under whoſe particular Province they are; either through the Multiplicity of other Affairs, which engroſſes ſo much of their Time, that they cannot give the Attention which is neceſſary; or the falſe Repreſentations of your *Stewards* abroad, to cover their own *ſiniſter Deſigns*. It is no new or uncommon Thing, when they find their *Schemes* for enriching themſelves, at any Rate, meet with Oppoſition, to load your *Tenants* with Terms of Reproach; as *ſeditious*, *turbulent Spirits*, *Jacobites*, and ſuch other opprobrious Names, as they imagine will render them obnoxious to your *Self* or your *Domeſticks*. Notwithſtanding This, I dare venture to affirm, that no Part of Mankind can be more ſteadily and heartily attached to your *Perſon* and *Intereſt* than they are; nor are they wanting in ſuch Demonſtrations as are in their Power, or their remote Situation will admit of. They are indeed tenacious of their *Rights* and *Liberties*; but, as they claim no other Privileges, than what they enjoy'd in their *native Country*, and pay the Obedience, which is due to you as their rightful and lawful LANDLORDS; it cannot be ſuppoſed that their inſiſting upon what they are intitled to by *Birth*, will be diſagreeable, when it is underſtood, that This is their only Aim and Deſign, and that they contend for nothing more.

I am, with the utmoſt Submiſſion,

SIR, *Your moſt Obedient, and*

moſt Faithful Servant

O. WILL. BRITON.

Hampſtead Jan. 3. 1726.

ADVERTISEMENT.

In a few Days will be publiſhed,

A GENERAL APOLOGY *for all* MINISTERS OF STATE, *from* SEJANUS *down to the preſent Times; in which the Complaints of* Miſmanagement, Corruption, *and* Oppreſſion *will be demonſtrated to be groundleſs, and occaſion'd only by* Envy, Faction, Diſappointment *and* Revenge. *To which will be added, A Catalogue of thoſe* eminent Writers, *upon whoſe Authority this Work will be built.*

Nec *Pudor* obſtabit——— Juv.

Printed for T. W. *in* Pater-noſter Row.

N° 26. *Monday, March* 6.

Si defendere delictum, *quam vertere malles,*
Nullum ultra verbum aut operam inſumebat inanem,
Quin ſine Rivali, TEQUE & TUA *ſolus amares.* Hor.

HAVING taken on myſelf the Character and Profeſſion of a publick Writer, I deſign, by Degrees, to retail out to my Countrymen all the various Obſervations, which I have been treaſuring up for theſe many Years paſt; and, like my immortal Predeceſſor, the *Spectator*, *to print my ſelf out*. If all, that I ſhall thus communicate, ſhould not happen to be thought Subjects of Inſtruction, yet I hope at leaſt they will be looked on as Matters of innocent Amuſement.

When I firſt ſet forth in the World, and was capable of making any Reflections on publick Affairs, the Miſmanagement and Corruption of King *Charles* the *Second*'s Reign furniſh'd the common Topicks of Converſation; and I very well remember, that nothing

thing gave keener Diſguſt, or was mention'd with more Aſperity by the *Whigs* of thoſe Times (who ſtiled themſelves the *Country Party*) than that *unnatural Conjunction*, as it was then called, of the Powers of *England* and *France* to deſtroy the Republick of *Holland*; which was a Circumſtance of ſuch Importance to *Europe*, that it occaſion'd many and various Speculations on the Riſe and Progreſs of that *popular State*; as well as on the great Danger, to which it was reduced, of being entirely ſubverted by that War.

The Counſels of *England* took this unhappy Turn, as it was then generally eſteemed, and began to ſwerve from their true Intereſt, as well as from their former Conduct, under the Adminiſtration of Sir THOMAS CLIFFORD, who was at that Time at the Head of the TREASURY; a Man of a voluble Tongue, but of a bold and enterprizing Spirit, without Knowledge or Capacity equal to his Deſigns. He had, in ſeveral Inſtances, diſcover'd his Enmity to *that State*, before it broke out into Meaſures of Hoſtility. He begun with complaining of Incroachments upon TRADE, and ſpirited up our *Eaſt-India* Company to bring Remonſtrances againſt them; which were, in that Reign, made Uſe of as the *Pretences* of War, and as conſtantly laid aſide, upon Concluſions of Peace. Sir *William Temple* ſays (in a Letter to his Father upon this Occaſion) *that our Pretenſions upon the Buſineſs of* Surinam, *and the* Eaſt-India *Company have grown high, and been managed with Sharpneſs between us and the* States, *and grounded (as Monſieur* de Witt *conceives) more upon a Deſign of ſhewing them our* ill Humour *than our* Reaſon. The *Miniſter* repreſented them as treating even the PERSON of the KING ill, and endeavoured to render them odious to the People, by ſetting them forth as treacherous in all their Negociations and Profeſſions. Nay, he went ſo far as to practice upon Sir *William Temple* to join with him

him in ſuch *falſe Repreſentations* as would beſt ſerve his pernicious Purpoſes; a Method, which has been too common under bad Adminiſtrations; but it was rejected with Scorn by that able and honeſt Ambaſſador, as we may find in the ſame Letter before cited, where he ſays, that being very hardly preſs'd by Sir *Thomas Clifford* to reſume the Affair of *Surinam* and the *Eaſt-India* Company; and, in caſe of the Non-compliance of the *Dutch*, to *let the King and all the World know how baſely and unworthily the* States *had uſed him; and to declare publickly how their Miniſters were a Company of* Rogues *and* Raſcals, *and not fit for his Majeſty or any other Prince to have any Thing to do with.* —— *He anſwered very calmly, that he was not a Man fit to make* SUCH DECLARATIONS.

This *evil Miniſter* was ſo intent upon another War with *Holland*, that He reſolved, by any Methods, to pick a Quarrel with them, and provoke them to ſome Action, which might be made the Pretence of juſtifying it to the People, and repreſenting them as the *Authors* of it. Accordingly, within a Year after this unwarrantable Attempt upon that *great* and *worthy Man*, he bethought himſelf of another Stratagem; which, in his Opinion, could not fail of producing the deſired Effect; for the *ſame Author* informs us, that a Yatcht being ſent over to *Holland* to bring home his Lady and Family from the *Hague*, the Captain received publick Orders from Court, that if he came in ſight of the *Dutch Fleet* (which was then floating in the Channel) he ſhould ſail thro' them, and fire at thoſe Ships, which were next him, till he made them *ſtrike Sail*, or till they *ſhot at him again*. He paſſed, it ſeems, into *Holland*, without ſeeing them; but as he returned (with the Lady *Temple* and her Children aboard) he met the Fleet, and purſued his Orders, by *ſailing through them*, and making *ſeveral Shot* at thoſe near him; upon which, the *Dutch Admiral* (not ſuſpecting the Reaſon of ſuch an *unac-*

count-

countable Procedure, and believing them to be in ſome *Diſtreſs)* immediately ſent a Boat aboard them, and went afterwards himſelf to enquire into the Occaſion of their firing; and being acquainted by the Captain with his *Orders*, he ſaid it was a Point they had received no Inſtructions about from their Maſters, and did not know how that Affair was agreed on between his *Majeſty* and the *States*; but though it were ſettled, yet, as he juſtly obſerved, the Captain could not expect that the *Fleet* and *Admiral* ſhould ſtrike to a *Yatch*, which was but a *Pleaſure-Boat*, or at leaſt ſerved only for *Paſſage*, and could not paſs for one of the King's *Men of War*. To which the Captain reply'd, that he had his *Orders*, and was bound to follow them. However, the Admiral let them paſs ſafely through his whole Fleet, without offering any return of *Hoſtility*; and thereby, in a great Meaſure, defeated the quarrelſome Deſign of the *Engliſh Miniſtry*.

But *Clifford* was determined on a Rupture; and at laſt ſtruck a Blow, which put it out of the Power of the *Dutch* to prevent it, by attacking their *Smyrna Fleet*, and thereby commencing a War, the fatal Conſequences whereof have been ever ſince felt in *Europe*.

About the ſame time, it was obſervable that this daring Miniſter was created a *Peer*, and made Lord *High Treaſurer*, for propoſing the Expedient of *ſhutting up the Exchequer*; which was the laſt Shift he had left, deſperate as it was, to ſupport his Maſter under thoſe Difficulties, in which he had involved him, by ſuch precipitate and extravagant Counſels.

I cannot forbear taking Notice in this Place (which, I hope will not be eſteemed an improper Digreſſion) what an inſuperable Antipathy and Rancour the Generality of the People of *England*, and eſpecially the whole Body of the *Whigs*, had conceived at that Time, and have ever ſince retained, till very lately, againſt the *French* Nation; as if an *Alliance*, or even a

friendly

friendly Correſpondence with them were of the moſt dangerous Conſequence to the Intereſt of this *Kingdom*. I have now before me, a Book, entitled, *The Secret Hiſtory of* EUROPE, in three Volumes, written no longer ago than the *laſt Reign*, by one of the hot-brain'd Zealots of *that Party*; which is ſtuffed, in almoſt every Page, with the bittereſt and moſt indecent Reflections on that *great People*, as well as on *Thoſe*, who were ſuppoſed, at that Time, to be in their Intereſt. I will beg Leave only to quote a Paſſage or two, from which we may judge of the Spirit of the Author, as well as of Thoſe, who were then known to careſs him, and encourage his Works.

Having mentioned the *eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion* of King *James* the *Second*'s Reign, he endeavours to juſtify ſome of the Gentlemen, who were concerned in that *illegal Commiſſion*, and particularly the late Duke of *Buckingham*; for which Purpoſe he produces a Paſſage out of the Letter, which his Grace, then Earl of *Mulgrave*, wrote to Dr. *Tillotſon*, after the *Revolution*.

" I appeal, *ſays his Lordſhip*, to the unqueſtionable " Teſtimony of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, if I did not " zealouſly and conſtantly take all Occaſions to oppoſe " the *French Intereſt*; becauſe I knew it *directly oppoſite* both to the *King* and *Kingdom*'s Good, which " are indeed Things inſeparable, and ought to be accounted as a fundamental Maxim, in all Councils " of Princes.

Upon which, this *ſecret Hiſtorian* and *furious Partizan* makes the following Obſervation.

" This, *ſays he*, his Lordſhip wrote, when there " was no War declared againſt *France*; and This is " the *Maxim* that I ſhall ever labour to advance in " the Minds of all *honeſt Britons*; frankly confeſſing, " that whatever Denomination I may paſs under for " my Love of *Liberty*, and our happy *Conſtitution*, I " never-

" never was, and never ſhall be a WHIG, farther than " is explained in the Aſſertion of this noble Lord, " that the *French Intereſt* is *directly oppoſite* to the " Good of my *Queen* and *Country*; and that the In- " tereſt of my *Queen* and *Country* are inſeparable. " 'Tis for This, and This only, I write; and ſhall " continue ſo to do, as long as it is thought to be of " any Service.

He tells us, in another Place, upon King *James*'s admitting Monſieur *Barillon* and the Count *de Lauſon* into all his Councils, that " the *former* would, at " that Time, have frightened the *Engliſh* with Re- " preſentations of the Power and Bigotry of the Houſe " of AUSTRIA; it being the Policy of the *French*, " to repreſent that Houſe as *impotent*-or *powerful*, as " *Enemies* or *Friends* to the PROTESTANTS, ac- " cording as the *preſent Turn* is to be ſerved by it.

And, in another Place, he ſays, " Tho' I ſhall ne- " ver contribute to the Infraction of any Treaty with " any Prince whatſoever, I ſhall always have an Ab- " horrence for a *French Intereſt*, ſo *contrary* to that " of *England*."

I could cite a Multitude of Paſſages to the ſame Effect, out of this Book; which is indeed full of them, from the Beginning to the End. Nor is He the only Author of this Kind; for it would be an eaſy Task to produce a Cart-load of Books, Pamphlets and looſe Sheets, publiſhed by Men of the ſame Stamp, ſince the *Reſtoration*, in order to inculcate the ſame malevolent Principles of Averſion to *France* into the Minds of the People of this Kingdom.

For my Part, as I always diſapproved of theſe general Invectives my ſelf, even when they were moſt *current* and *faſhionable*; ſo I cannot help declaring my Agreement with a late ingenious and courtly Writer, who very juſtly obſerves, " that 'tis not the " *Emperor*, nor *France*, nor *Spain*, nor this, nor " t'other Potentate, to whom we muſt keep up a " *perpetual*

" *perpetual Oppoſition*, or grant a *conſtant Aſſiſtance*. " Power will always be fluctuating amongſt the Prin- " ces of *Europe*, and wherever the preſent Flow of it " appears, there is our *Enemy*; there the proper " Object of our *Fears*.

But, to return. I muſt obſerve that however the State and Circumſtances of Affairs in *Europe* may have *lately* altered; and however *Parties* may run at preſent, it is certain and demonſtrable, that our *Alliance* with *France*, in King *Charles* II's Reign, was, to give it the ſofteſt Name, a manifeſt *Blunder* in Politicks; ſince that War, thus unjuſtly and unadviſedly entered upon, raiſed *France* to ſuch an Height, by joining with Her to over-run the *Netherlands*, that it was the chief, if not the only Occaſion of the two laſt *conſuming Wars*, (which coſt us ſo much Blood, and involved us in ſo much Debt!) and had very near deſtroyed that *popular State*, which had, in its Riſe and Progreſs, ſurprized the whole World; a State, which, by its excellent *OEconomy*, not only raiſed it ſelf to that Height, in which it once flouriſhed, and to which it is now, in ſome Meaſure, reſtored; but has alſo furniſhed, by their Example, ſome excellent Inſtructions to all *free States*, for their Conduct, (making proper Allowances for the different Conſtitutions of their Governments) which I beg Leave to tranſcribe from Sir *William Temple*.

One Circumſtance, which he mentions as an occaſion of their *Greatneſs*, " was the *Simplicity* and " *Modeſty* of their *Magiſtrates*, in their way of Liv- " ing; which is ſo general, *ſays he*, that I never " knew one among them exceed the common, fru- " gal, popular Air; and ſo great that, of the two " chief Officers in my Time, Vice-Admiral *de Rui- " ter*, and the Penſioner *de Witt*, (one generally " eſteemed by foreign Nations as great a *Seaman*, " and the other as great a *Stateſman*, as any of their " Age) I never ſaw the *Firſt* in Cloaths better than

" the

" the commoneſt *Sea Captain*, nor with above one " Man following him, nor in a Coach; and, in his " Houſe, neither was the Size, Building, Furniture, " or Entertainment at all exceeding the Uſe of every " common Merchant and Tradeſman in this Town. " For the Penſioner *de Witt*, who had the great In- " fluence in the Government, the whole Train and " Expence of his Domeſticks went very equal with " either common Deputies, or Miniſters of the State; " his Habit grave, and plain, and popular; his Ta- " ble, what only ſerved turn for his Family or a " Friend; his Train (beſides Commiſſaries and " Clerks kept for him in an Office, adjoining to his " Houſe, at the publick Charge) was only one Man, " who performed all the menial Service of his Houſe " at Home; and, upon his Viſits of Ceremony, put- " ting on a plain livery Cloak, attended his Coach " abroad; for, upon other Occaſions, he was ſeen uſu- " ally in the Street on Foot and alone, like the com- " moneſt Burgher of the Town. Nor was this " Manner of Life affected, or uſed only by theſe " particular Men; but was the general Faſhion and " Mode among all the Magiſtrates of the State; for " I ſpeak not of the military Officers, who are reckon- " ed their Servants, and live in a different Garb, " though generally modeſter than in other Coun- " tries."

He concludes this Head, as I will this Paper, with the following excellent Obſervation.

" Thus this ſtomachful People, who could not " endure the leaſt Exerciſe of arbitrary Power or " Impoſitions, or the Sight of any foreign Troops " under the *Spaniſh* Government, have been ſince " inured to all of them, in the higheſt Degree, un- " der their own popular Magiſtrates; bridled with " hard Laws; terrify'd with ſevere Executions; en- " vironed with foreign Forces; and oppreſſed with " the moſt cruel Hardſhips, and Variety of Taxes,

" that was ever known under any Government. But " all This, whilſt the Way to *Office* and *Authority* " lies through thoſe *Qualities*, which acquire the " general Eſteem of the People; whilſt no Man is " exempted from the Danger and Current of the " *Laws*; whilſt Soldiers are confined to Frontier- " Garriſons, (the Guard of inland or trading Towns " being left to the Burghers themſelves) and whilſt " no *great Riches* are ſeen to enter by *publick Pay-* " *ments* into *private Purſes*, either to *raiſe Families*, " or to feed the *prodigal Expences* of vain, extrava- " gant and luxurious Men; but all *publick Monies* are " applied to the Safety, Greatneſs, or Honour of the " *State*; and the *Magiſtrates* themſelves bear an *equal* " *Share* in all the Burthens they *impoſe*. "

C. D.

N° 27. *Friday, March* 10.

Quondam LETHARGO *grandi eſt & oppreſſus.*
HOR.

OF all the Diſtempers, which are incident to a State, none ſeems to be of a more dangerous Conſequence than what may properly be called a POLITICAL LETHARGY; which lays all the noble Faculties, generous Paſſions, and ſocial Virtues, as it were by *Opium*, in a profound Trance; and thereby leaves publick Miniſters at their Diſcretion, and under a ſtrong Temptation to do whatever their Ambition dictates with Impunity, and without Obſervation.

When

When the generality of any Nation are ſeized with this Malady, it ſtupifies and benumbs all their Senſes in ſuch a Manner, that they cannot feel the moſt acute Pains, nor perceive the heavieſt Burthens, the ſharpeſt Calamities, or the moſt grievous Indignities, that are impoſed upon them. A Man in a *Lethargy* is, to all Intents whatſoever, whilſt it continues upon him, a dead Man; having no more Notion of Health or Sickneſs, of Pleaſure or Pain, of Riches or Poverty, of Liberty or Slavery than one, who has lain a Year in his Grave.

A *political Lethargy* is, in every Reſpect, like a *natural one*; with this Aggravation, that whereas the *latter* affects only Individuals, by rendring the World joyleſs to them, at the ſame Time that it exempts them from all Senſe of Pain, Loſs and Impoſition; the *former*, beſides theſe Influences on private Perſons, extends it ſelf to the Publick, and makes Poſterity feel the Effects of our *Inſenſibility*.

This *popular Diſeaſe* proceeds, like other Diſtempers, from different Cauſes, and may be diſcover'd by various Symptoms; which it behoves me, who profeſs my ſelf a *political Phyſician*, to point out to my loving Countrymen.

Sometimes it is, in a Manner, inborn and ariſes from a natural Coldneſs and phlegmatick Temper of Mind, uninform'd with any publick Principles, or any Regard for the Honour and Welfare of the Community. When This happens to be the Caſe, and ſuch a languid Diſpoſition is mixt with the Blood, and interwoven with the Conſtitution, (which will appear by a profeſs'd *Neutrality*, and *Indifference* in all publick Affairs) it is in vain to apply any Remedy, or endeavour at a Cure. The ſtrongeſt Reaſons, and moſt urgent Exhortations will have no more Effect upon ſuch a Man, than upon a natural *Idiot* or *Lunatick*; with whom he ought to be laid aſide, and diſ-

regarded by the Publick, as a Defect in the Creation, and the uſeleſs Lumber of a Commonwealth.

Sometimes it proceeds from Puſillanimity, or Indolence; from the Fear of Oppoſition, or a falſe Notion of Quiet and Tranquility. There are many Men, who do not want Abilities to diſcern the Grievances of the Publick, nor Inclinations to ſee them redreſs'd; and yet through a mean and daſtardly Spirit, and a Deſire of living eaſy, as it is call'd, chuſe to ſit down contented, and patiently ſubmit to any Oppreſſion, rather than ſtir a Finger againſt the Oppreſſor, or run the leaſt Hazard in the Cauſe of Virtue and Liberty. As they have too much Senſe and Integrity to concur with the *publick Enemy* in any of his pernicious Deſigns; ſo they are very free, upon all Occaſions, to expreſs their hearty Wiſhes to ſee them defeated and overthrown. But they are ſo much terrify'd with *great Names* and *bluſtring Speeches*, that they are not only diſheartned from appearing againſt them themſelves, but do all that lies in their Power to diſcourage others, by magnify'd Difficulties and frightful Repreſentations. They ſeem to diſtruſt the Judgment of all Opponents, at the ſame Time that they applaud their Zeal; and look upon them, at beſt, as a Sort of *frantick Enthuſiaſts* for Liberty, and *well-meaning Madmen*.

If ſuch Principles ſhould ever prevail, and the Generality of Mankind ſhould imitate the Conduct of theſe *negative Patriots*, what an hopeful Condition would the World be ſoon in? There would, no Doubt, be excellent Management, and moſt bleſſed Meaſures purſu'd in all Nations, provided *Miniſters* were left, in this Manner, *to do every Thing which ſhould ſeem good in their own Eyes*, without any Oppoſition or Animadverſion!

By the ſame Method of Reaſoning, it would be eaſy to prove, that it is ridiculous to inſiſt on the ſtricteſt Obſervation of any *moral* or *chriſtian Duties*, whilſt

whilſt there is ſo general a Current againſt them, and ſo little Probability that any Preaching or Pains will ever be able to baniſh Vice and Wickedneſs intirely out of the World. Yet as the Prevalence of Immorality will not excuſe the Clergy from being zealous in their Exhortations againſt it; ſo it is equally unjuſtifiable, and leaſt of all becomes Men of that Function, to diſcountenance publick Virtue and the Love of their Country, by repreſenting the Practice of them either as dangerous or romantick; and improving, by theſe Means, on the ſlaviſh Doctrine of *paſſive Obedience*, by extending it even to the *worſt of Miniſters*.

But as it is the Duty of every honeſt Man to ſtand up, and contend, upon all Occaſions, for the Rights and Liberties of his Country, however powerfully they may be, at any Time, invaded; ſo I have the Satisfaction to obſerve, that we do not want Inſtances in Hiſtory, where a ſmall Oppoſition, vigorouſly carried on and maintain'd with Conſtancy, has been found to prevail over the ſtrongeſt Combinations. Even *Deſpair* ſometimes inſpires Men with ſuch Reſolution as makes them forget all Danger, and ſurmount all Difficulties, leading them on to Victory and Triumph. This ſeems to have been the Caſe of the *Locrians*, as *Juſtin* relates it, who marching into the Field, with only *fifteen Thouſand* Men, againſt the *Crotonians*, who had no leſs than an *Hundred and twenty Thouſand*, and giving over all Hopes of *Victory*, reſolv'd to fall bravely in Battle, and unanimouſly agreed to fight it out to the laſt Man; deſpair having inſpired every one of them with ſo much Ardour, that they eſteemed an *honourable Death* a kind of *Victory*. But this glorious Reſolution had another Effect, and ended in the Defeat of their Enemies, notwithſtanding ſo great a *Diſparity* in Numbers. *Dum* morſ honeſte *quærunt*, feliciter vicerunt; *nec alia cauſa victoriæ fuit, quam quod* deſperaverunt.

The ſame Author, in another Place, tells us that the *Cretonians* being ſoon after invaded by *Dionyſius*, with great Diſadvantage on their Side, made a more obſtinate and ſucceſsful Reſiſtance with a *ſmall* Number of Men againſt a *vaſt Army*, than they did before with *ſo many Thouſand* againſt an *Handful* of the *Locrians*. Upon which the Hiſtorian makes this judicious Remark; *Tantum virtutis* Paupertas *adverſus* inſolentes Divitias *habet, tantoque* inſperata *interdum* ſperatâ victoriâ *certior eſt*.

There are ſo many Inſtances of the ſame Kind to be met with in the *Roman* and *Græcian* Hiſtories, as well as in the Annals of moſt other Nations, that it would look like Pedantry or puerile Oſtentation to quote any more. Nor do theſe Things depend on the Veracity and Authority of antient Writers, but are ſufficiently confirm'd by the Hiſtory and Experience of later Times; which will furniſh us with ſeveral Examples of the moſt powerful and formidable *Superiorities* in Number, which have been overcome by the Unanimity, Vigour and Reſolution of *inferior Parties*.

The Republick of *Holland* was reduced to ſuch Diſtreſs, ſomewhat above *Fifty* Years ago, by the united Arms of *England* and *France*, as I mentioned in my laſt Paper, that the Lords of *Amſterdam* aſſembled together, in order to conſult what Meaſures to take. It even became a Queſtion in Debate, *whether they ſhould not ſend their Keys to the* French *King at* Utrecht; and we are aſſured that ſome of them were ſo much intimidated and poſſeſſed of ſuch cowardly Tempers, that they were not aſhamed to argue publickly, in that Aſſembly, for the *Affirmative*; which perhaps might have been carried, if it had not been prevented by Monſieur *Tulip*, (one of the Burgomaſters, a Man of a brave, invincible Spirit,) who ran to the Window, and vow'd if they did not lay aſide all Thoughts of ſubmitting to *France*, he

he would call out to the People (who were crouding about the *Stadthouſe*) and have them torn to Pieces; which put an End to that ſcandalous Diſpute.

Thus that great State was, in a Manner, reſcu'd from immediate Deſtruction by the Magnanimity of *one Man*; as it was afterwards fully ſecured in the Poſſeſſion of its former Liberties by the heroick Fortitude and Conduct of the young Prince of ORANGE, (that immortal Deliverer of his own Country, as well as of ours) to whom only it is owing that they have ever ſince continued to make a Figure amongſt the Nations of the Earth.

Theſe Examples, and a Multitude of others, with which every Man's Reflection will ſupply him, are ſufficient to ſhew, that the ſtrongeſt Confederacies of Power, or the moſt violent Torrents of Corruption ought not to diſcourage us in the Cauſe of Virtue, nor induce us to deſpair of Succeſs. I ſhall therefore only add, under this Head, that as thoſe ſneaking, timorous *Semi-Patriots*, who dare not openly avow their Opinions, or act according to them, are always treated with Contempt by the *Enemies of their Country*, whoſe Meaſures they have not the Courage to oppoſe; ſo they ought to be look'd on in the ſame Light by the *Aſſertors of Liberty*, whom they meanly forſake, and not to reap any Advantages from the Manumiſſion of their Country, (when that is effected) to which they were afraid to contribute their Aſſiſtance.

Such Men deſerve the ſame Rebuke, which St. *John* gave to the *luke-warm Laodiceans*.

I know thy Works, that thou art neither cold *nor* hot. *I would thou wert* cold *or* hot.

So then becauſe thou art lukewarm, *and neither* cold *nor* hot, *I will* ſpue *thee out of my Mouth*.

But to return to the *Cauſes* of a *political Lethargy*; which is occaſioned by nothing more commonly or more

more effectually than by a general Spirit of Luxury and Profuſion; or a prevailing Appetite to ſoft effeminate Inventions and wanton Entertainments. For as theſe Things tend to enervate the Mind, ſo they have always been found to engroſs the Attention, and divert the Thoughts from reflecting on other Matters of the utmoſt Conſequence; which, under ſuch an Infatuation, ceaſe to give us any Satisfaction or Concern.

When the Spirit and *Morals of* a People are diſſolved in *Voluptuouſneſs*, and its conſtant Attendant, *Corruption*, they give themſelves up intirely to the Purſuits of private Pleaſure, and care not how the great Affairs of the World go on, as long as they can proceed, without Interruption, in the full Enjoyment of their favourite Diverſions.

And though *ill-deſigning Miniſters*, in all Ages, have conſtantly made uſe of theſe Methods to throw their Fellow-ſubjects into ſuch a *Lethargy* as I have been deſcribing, in order to carry on their wicked Deſigns with Safety, and many flouriſhing Kingdoms have been thereby deſtroyed; yet ſuch a deceitful *Siren* is PLEASURE, and has ſuch an alluring Power over thoſe Minds, in which it has once found Admittance, that it is a Matter of the utmoſt Difficulty to free Mankind from its Tyranny, or convince them of their Danger, till it is too late to avoid it.

It is well known that the Subverſion of the *Roman* Commonwealth was chiefly occaſioned by ſuch a prevailing Diſſolution of Manners; which was too nearly our own Caſe, in the luxurious Reign of King *Charles* II.

But it is the peculiar Bleſſing of this Nation at preſent, that we live under an *Adminiſtration*, which does not ſtand in Need of any ſuch Arts to blind the Eyes of the People, or lay us aſleep in *Luxury* and *Indolence*; for, on the contrary, they ſeem to be ſo conſcious of their Integrity, and the Juſtice of their Cauſe, that they make uſe of all Methods to awaken

our

our Attention, and encourage us to examine their Conduct. It is well known under whoſe Direction a *late famous Book* was written; and by whoſe Authority it has been diſperſed through the Kingdom; which, being an APPEAL to the Publick, gives every Man a Liberty to make ſuch farther *Enquiries* into the Matters which it treats of, as he thinks proper; ſince it is ridiculous to ſuppoſe that any Perſons ſhould pretend to ſubmit their Actions to the Judgment of the People, and at the ſame Time not ſuffer the People to deliver their Judgment. We cannot therefore have any Apprehenſions of Danger, whilſt Affairs are conducted in ſo *candid* and *impartial* a Manner; nor ſuſpect any *ill Deſigns* in Men, who have condeſcended *firſt* to *toll the Alarm-bell*; which may poſſibly excite others to *raiſe it, and ring it out in the Ears of the Nation.* *D.*

ADVERTISEMENT.

Juſt Publiſh'd,

The SCREEN SCREEN'D; Or, a SPIRITUAL SALVO *for a* POLITICAL CONSCIENCE. *By a* R. R. *Caſuiſt and Stickler on both Sides.*

Out of thine own Mouth will I condemn thee.

Printed for T. W. *in* Pater-noſter-Row.

Monday,

N° 28. *Monday, March* 13.

CHURCHMEN *are woeful, awkward* Politicians.
They make lame Miſchief, though they mean it well.
Their Int'reſt is not finely drawn and hid;
But Seams are coarſely bungled up and ſeen.
Dryd. Don. Sebaſt.

THough it is generally eſteem'd an indecent, as well as an invidious Task, for a Man to mention himſelf, or extol his own Family; yet in ſome Caſes it becomes not only excuſable, but even praiſe-worthy; eſpecially when it is made neceſſary for our *Self-defence*; which I hope will be thought a ſufficient Apology for what I have already ſaid, and may hereafter have Occaſion to ſay concerning *my ſelf*, in Anſwer to the Calumnies and Miſrepreſentations of my Enemies.

The Family of D'ANVERS (as the Name is now contracted from the old Writing *De Anvers*) is of very ancient ſtanding, and of no inconſiderable Note in this Kingdom; which I could eaſily prove from the moſt authentick Books of Heraldry; as I could, from other undoubted Authorities, that ſeveral of our Family have diſtinguiſh'd themſelves not only in the polite Profeſſions, but in the more immediate Service of their Country, both in Church and State, in the Camp and the Cabinet, with great Ability, and uncorrupt Virtue; eſpecially, of late Years, in the HOUSE OF COMMONS.

But as the trueſt Patriots are commonly moſt expoſed to Obloquy and Reproach, ſo our Houſe has not been

been able to eſcape the Malice of evil-minded Men, *who ſhot their Arrows againſt us, even bitter Words*; and, for want of any juſt Ground of Complaint or Reflection, they take a mean Pleaſure in having Recourſe to our *Name*; which, being of *foreign* Extraction, they endeavour to render odious to the People of this Kingdom; who are remarkable for a peculiar Fondneſs of their *own Country*, and (I hope I may ſay without Offence) too partial a Prejudice againſt *all others*.

As theſe are known to have been general national Reproaches, at all Times, and againſt all Perſons, as well as *us*, who have not the Happineſs to be of *Engliſh* Birth or Extraction; ſo I could not have the Weakneſs even to hope that I ſhould avoid them under a *publick Character*, which naturally tends to excite *Envy* in ſome, and *Hatred* in others, who are engag'd in a different Cauſe; for which Reaſon, a Man in theſe Circumſtances muſt expect that every little Story to his Diſadvantage will be trumpt up, and the leaſt Handle for Reflection laid hold of by his *Adverſaries*, in order to defeat his Deſigns, and promote their own.

I have ſufficiently experienc'd this already in my own Caſe; and eſpecially with Regard to that *popular Prejudice*, of which I have been ſpeaking, againſt every thing that is FOREIGN. My Enemies ſeem to take abundance of Delight in ridiculing my *Name*, and have been moſt unmercifully witty and ſcurrilous upon that Occaſion. They ſtrenuouſly maintain, that we came originally from ANTWERP; becauſe, as they obſerve, the *French* Name of that Town is ANVERS; which being at preſent in Poſſeſſion of the EMPEROR, they argue from thence, that I muſt be of the *Imperial Faction*, and in the *German Intereſt*.

I ſhall not undertake to diſprove or deny this Deduction of our *Original*; having the fulleſt Reaſon to believe that it is juſt (if Tradition, Hiſtory, and Fa-

mily Records may be depended on) and that we came over hither, from *Germany*, with Archbiſhop CRANMER, at the Beginning of the *Reformation*, in order to avoid the Perſecution, which was ſet on Foot in thoſe Parts againſt *Luther* and his Followers; to whoſe Doctrines our Family became early Proſelytes, and have ever ſince immoveably adhered. I am therefore ſo far from being aſham'd to derive my *Original* from thence, that I ſhall always eſteem it as the greateſt Honour to be ally'd, even at ſuch a Diſtance, to a Nation, where the pure Goſpel of *Chriſt* was firſt reviv'd from the Corruptions of *Rome*; and to which his moſt excellent Majeſty King GEORGE (the preſent *Ornament* and *Defender* of the ſame *Proteſtant Faith*) as well as his Royal Family, for many Ages, have owed their illuſtrious Nativities.

But, whatever my *Extraction* may be, and whatever grateful Reſpect or hereditary Affection I may retain for a Nation, which was once the *dulce natale ſolum* of my Anceſtors; yet it ſhall never prevail over my Duty to this Kingdom, which has vouchſafed to adopt me; nor draw me into the *Imperial Intereſt*, when it is inconſiſtent with the Welfare of *Great-Britain*. On the contrary, no Body can have a ſtronger Abhorrence of the Meaſures, which have been lately taken againſt us by the *common Enemy*; nor behold, with more Indignation, the famous *German Faith*, which has been ſo long proverbially uſed for the moſt religious Adherence to *Treaties* and *Engagements*, declining into a Term of Reproach, and ſullied with Accuſations of *Ingratitude* and *Perfidiouſneſs*.

Upon reading the *Memorial*, lately preſented to his Majeſty by Monſieur *de* PALM (for which that Miniſter has been juſtly diſmiſs'd) I was extremely ſurpriz'd to find Language us'd in it, which would have appear'd indecent between *Gentlemen*; and is much more ſo between *crown'd Heads*. This ſeems the

more

more extraordinary from his *Imperial* Majeſty, becauſe the utmoſt Reſpect has been paid to his great Character; and, whatever the Zeal of ſome private Gentlemen might urge them to ſay, yet no *hard Names*, *unprincely Epithets*, or *inflaming Language* has been publickly made uſe of, in the Height of all our juſt Indignation againſt him. But my Surprize ceaſed, when I was inform'd, that *this Memorial* was pen'd by a *German Biſhop*, in conjunction with a *Renegado French Jeſuit*, who has as much Influence over *Him*, as He has over ſome *Miniſters* at that Court. Theſe two Perſons are, as I am told, employ'd at preſent in drawing up the *Anſwer*, which is promis'd in the *Memorial*, to the ENQUIRY lately publiſh'd here, and ſo often mention'd in this Paper.

But as the only Hopes of our Enemies ſeemed to conſiſt in the general Diſinclination of the People to *new Wars*, *Debts* and *Taxes*; and the chief Deſign of this inſolent *Memorial* was to exaſperate and inflame the Kingdom againſt the *preſent Miniſtry*, by repreſenting them as the *ſole Authors* of the Diſturbances of *Europe*; ſo we have the Satisfaction to ſee them grievouſly miſtaken and diſappointed in their Expectations; for it appears from the ADDRESSES, which have been lately ſent up from all Parts, that there never was a more vigorous Spirit of *Britiſh* Zeal and Loyalty amongſt our Countrymen, than what has diſcover'd itſelf upon this Occaſion. Every *Gazette* abounds with the warmeſt Profeſſions of Reſentment and Indignation againſt the Enemies of their Country, and of their chearful Submiſſion to any Burthens, which it may be judged neceſſary to lay upon them; in order to deſtroy the *Oſtend Company*; to ſupport *Gibralter*; to defeat the Deſigns of a *Popiſh Pretender*; and reſtore the Tranquility of *Europe*. The good People of *Totnes*, in particular, are ſo far from being, in any wiſe, uneaſy, under the *four Shillings* per *Pound*, *Land-Tax*, that they have made

a *Free-will Offering* of the other *Sixteen, and of every Thing elſe, that is dear and valuable to them.* Nay, that they might not leave the leaſt Room for our Enemies to triumph, either at Home or Abroad, they did not confine themſelves to the ordinary Method of *Addreſſing*, by declaring their Affection to his *Majeſty*, and their Reſolution to ſupport *Him* in this vigorous Manner, but ſeem to be in the moſt dutiful Raptures with the Zeal of his *glorious Parliament*, and the Conduct of his *moſt incomparable Miniſtry*; in which uncommon Strain of Loyalty, they have been very laudably ſeconded by the Gentlemen of *Lynn-Regis*, and by ſome other Burroughs of NORFOLK and SUSSEX.

There is indeed a noble Spirit, which animates all theſe *Addreſſes*, and makes them well worth the Peruſal of every curious and honeſt *Briton*. I will inſtance only one more, *viz.* That from the ancient and loyal Corporation of *Shrewsbury*; which, ſpeaking of our ALLIANCE, ſays very juſtly, as well as very elegantly, *that it will, in Time to come, render the* HANOVER *Enſigns more illuſtrious than the confederated Eagles of the* Roman *and* Ruſſian *Empires, and bind up the* Golden Fleece *of* Spain *in the renowned* Garter *of* Great-Britain.

Such extraordinary Manifeſtations of Zeal, Satisfaction, and Concurrence with Thoſe at the Helm will, I doubt not, extinguiſh all the vain Hopes of our Enemies, and give the greateſt Mortification to this *prelatical Incendiary*, when He ſees all his vile Sophiſtry rejected by the united Voice of the People, as it has been already condemn'd by their Repreſentatives aſſembled in Parliament.

This *Prelate*, it ſeems, had obſtructed his own Preferment in the Church by ſeveral Writings and Diſcourſes, containing Poſitions, which had render'd not only his *Orthodoxy*, but even his *Chriſtianity* ſuſpected; ſo that deſpairing to riſe as a worthy

Church-

Churchman, he determin'd to try his Fortune as a *Politician*; and has ſince wholly neglected *ſpiritual* for the Sake of *temporal Affairs*.

I cannot forbear obſerving, upon this Occaſion, that nothing does Religion more Prejudice than to ſee Thoſe, whoſe Profeſſion and Duty it is to inculcate a Contempt of this World for the ſake of a better, buſying themſelves in worldly Cares, and promoting Differences and Animoſities among Mankind; for it is plain that *ſuch Churchmen* have no Notion of any other *future State*, than that of TRANSLATION.

When *Eccleſiaſticks* thruſt themſelves into the publick Affairs of this World, their Actions are generally raſh and cruel, and their Language unmannerly and ſcurrilous; for as, like *Ladies*, they are by their Petticoats protected from the Conſequences of *Railing*; ſo, like them too, they commonly make no ſmall uſe of that *Privilege*.

But, farther; a *Churchman*, who meddleth with State-matters *without knowing them*, muſt be a *weak* Man; and He, who *does know them*, muſt be a *diſhoneſt* Man, becauſe he muſt have beſtowed that Application upon them, which was only due to his own Profeſſion. I look upon ſuch a Man to be guilty of *Sacrilege* in the higheſt Degree; for inſtead of *ſerving* at the Altar, by which he *lives*, he *robs* the Altar, at which he does *not ſerve*.

The late Biſhop *Burnet*, who concern'd himſelf in *thoſe Affairs* as much as any Man, and underſtood them better than moſt modern Churchmen, was ſo conſcious of This, and ſo ſenſible that *ſuch Matters* did not belong to him, nor become his *Function*, that in his Works we frequently meet with the ſevereſt Cenſures of ſuch Practices; which the Force of Truth extorted from Him, at the ſame Time that they included the ſtrongeſt Condemnation of *Himſelf* and his *own Actions*.

I will conclude with the pleaſant Obſervation of an *Engliſh* Author (of the *ſame Stamp* with this ſeditious *German Prelate*, tho' not of the *ſame Function*) who ſays, *That a* Parſon *in* Politicks *is like a* Monkey *in a Gloſs-ſhop, where he commonly does a great deal of* Miſchief, *and cannot poſſibly do any* Good.

A. C.

N° 29. *Friday, March* 17.

Aſſentior Platoni, *nihil tam facile in animos teneros atque molles influere quam canendi ſonos, quorum dici vix poteſt quanta ſit vis in utramque partem; namque et incitat languentes & languefacit excitatos; et tum remittit animos, tum contrahit; civitatumque hoc multarum in* Græcia *interfuit, antiquum vocum ſervare modum; quorum mores lapſi ad mollitiem, pariter ſunt immutati cum cantibus; aut hac dulcedine, corruptelaque depravati.*

Cicero, lib. 2. de Legibus.

AS I am very much obliged to the ingenious Author of the following Letter, ſo perhaps it will be expected that I ſhould make ſome Apology to the *Beaumonde* for publiſhing a Diſcourſe, which tends ſo directly to impugn their moſt darling Entertainments; but I hope the *Polite* of both Sexes will have the Goodneſs to conſider that it is the indiſpenſable Duty of a Man, of my Age and Character, to correct Vice and Folly of all Kinds, and under all Shapes, without any Regard to Parties or Perſons. I ſincerely wiſh that there may be no Weight in any of my Correſpondent's *Reaſons*

Reaſons or *Examples*; and that we may prove the ſingular Inſtance of a Nation, upon whoſe Morals Luxury, Corruption and unmanly Diverſions ſhall have no Influence. However if any Gentleman of the *Academy* thinks he can refute theſe Objections, and prove that no bad Conſequences ought to be juſtly apprehended from *ſuch Entertainments* in a *warlike* and *trading* Nation, I ſhall always be ready to give his Thoughts a Place in my Paper; for as the ſole End of this Undertaking is to diſcover *Truth* and expoſe *Vice*, ſo I will never give into that low and contemptible Method of *Controverſy*, which has been lately introduc'd, by ſuffering the World to ſee only *one Side* of the Queſtion in Debate.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, *Eſq;*

SIR,

A Diſcourſe on *Operas*, and the gayer Pleaſures of the Town may ſeem to be too trifling for the important Scene of Affairs, in which we are at preſent engaged; but I muſt own my Fears, that they will bear too great a Part in the Succeſs of a WAR, to make the Conſideration of them foreign to it. A very little Reflection on Hiſtory will ſuggeſt this Obſervation; that every Nation has made either a great or inconſiderable Figure in the World, as it has fallen into *Luxury* or reſiſted its Temptations. What People are more diſtinguiſh'd than the *Perſians* under *Cyrus*, nurs'd up in Virtue, and inur'd to Labours and Toil? Yet (in the ſhort Space of 220 Years [1]) They became ſo contemptible under *Darius*, as ſcarce to give Honour to the Conqueror's Sword. The

[1] *Liv.* lib. 9. cap. 19.

Spartans, and the Long-rulers of the World, the *Romans*, ſpeak the ſame Language; and I wiſh future Hiſtory does not furniſh more *modern* Examples.

When the Mind is enervated by *Luxury*, the Body ſoon falls an eaſy Victim to it; for how is it poſſible to imagine that a Man can be capable of the great and generous Sentiments, which Virtue inſpires, whoſe Mind is fill'd with the ſoft Ideas, and wanton Delicacies that Pleaſure muſt infuſe? And were it poſſible to be warm'd with ſuch Notions, could it ever put them in Execution? For Toils and Fatigues would be Difficulties unſurmountable to a Soul diſſolv'd in Eaſe. Nor are theſe the imaginary, ſpeculative Ideas of a Cloſet; but ſuch as have been the Guide and Policies of the wiſeſt States. Of This we have the moſt remarkable Inſtance in *Herodotus*. "The *Perſians*, after their great and extended Conqueſts, deſired *Cyrus* to give them Leave to remove out of their own barren and mountainous Country into one more bleſt by the Indulgence of Providence. But that great and wiſe Prince, revolving the Effect in his Mind, bid them do as they would; telling them, at the ſame Time, that for the Future they muſt not expect to command, but obey; for Providence had ſo order'd it, that an effeminate Race of People were the certain Produce of a delicious Country." What Regard the great Hiſtorian had to this Opinion may be eaſily collected from his reſerving it for the Concluſion of this excellent Piece. And the Caſe is directly the ſame, whether *Pleaſures* are the natural Product of a Country, or adventitious Exoticks. They will have the ſame Effect, and cauſe the ſame extended Ruin. How often have they reveng'd the Captive's Cauſe, and made the Conqueror's Sword the Inſtrument of his own undoing? *Capua* deſtroy'd the braveſt Army, which *Italy* ever ſaw, fluſh'd with Conqueſt, and commanded by *Hannibal*. The Moment *Capua* was taken,

taken, that Moment the Walls of *Carthage* trembled. What was it that deſtroy'd the Republick of *Athens*, but the Conduct of *Pericles*; [2] who by his pernicious Politicks firſt debauch'd the People's Minds with Shews and Feſtivals, and all the ſtudied Arts of *Eaſe* and *Luxury*; that he might, in the mean Time, ſecurely guide the Reins of Empire, and riot in Dominion? He firſt laid the Foundation of *Philip*'s Power; nor had a Man of *Macedon* ever thought of enſlaving *Greece*, if *Pericles* had not firſt made them Slaves to Pleaſure. [3] That great Statſman *Tiberius* clearly ſaw, what was the ſureſt Inſtrument of arbitrary Power; and therefore refus'd to have *Luxury* redreſſed, when Application was made to him in the Senate for that Purpoſe. Artful Princes have frequently introduced it with that very View. *Davila* tells us, that in an Interview and Semblance of Treaty with the King of *Navar*, *Catharine* of *Medicis* broke the Prince's Power more with the inſiduous Gayeties of her Court, than many Battles before had done. But there is a ſingle Paſſage in [4] *Herodotus*, which will ſupply the Place of more Quotations. "When "*Cyrus* had received an Account that the *Lydians* "had revolted from him, he told *Cræſus*, with a "good deal of Emotion, that he had almoſt deter- "mined to make them all Slaves. *Cræſus* beg'd him "to pardon them; but, ſays he, that they may no "more rebel, or be troubleſome to you, command "them to lay aſide their Arms, to wear long Veſts "and Buskins. Order them to ſing and play on the "Harp; to drink and debauch; and you'll ſoon ſee "their Spirits broken, and themſelves changed from "Men into Women; ſo that they will no more re-

[2] *Plut. in Pericl. & Demoſt. Orat.* [3] *Tac. An. lib. 2. cap. 33.* [4] *Herod. lib. 1. cap. 155.*

"bel,

" bel, or be uneaſy to you for the future." And the Event anſwer'd the Advice. They are puny Politicians, who attack a People's Liberty directly. The Means are dangerous, and the Succeſs precarious. Notions of Liberty are interwoven with our very Being; and the leaſt Suſpicion of its being in Danger fires the Soul with a generous Indignation. But He is the Statesman formed for Ruin and Deſtruction, whoſe wily Head knows how to diſguiſe the the fatal Hook with Baits of Pleaſure, which his artful Ambition diſpenſes with a laviſh Hand, and makes himſelf popular in undoing. Thus are the eaſy, thoughtleſs Crowd made the Inſtruments of their own Slavery; nor do they know the fatal Mine is laid, till they feel the goodly Pile come tumbling on their Heads. This is the finiſh'd Politician; the darling Son of *Tacitus* and *Machiavel*.

But, thanks to Providence, the ſacred Monuments of Hiſtory extend the ſhort contracted Span of human Life, and give us Years in Books. Theſe point out the glorious Landmarks for our Safety; and bid us be wiſe in Time, before *Luxury* has made too great a Progreſs among us. *Operas* and *Maſquerades*, with all the politer Elegancies of a wanton Age, are much leſs to be regarded for their Expence (great as it is) than for the Tendency, which they have to deprave our Manners. MUSICK has ſomething ſo peculiar in it, that it exerts a willing Tyranny over the Mind, and forms the ductil Soul into whatever Shape the Melody directs. Wiſe Nations have obſerved its Influence, and have therefore kept it under proper Regulations. The (5) *Spartans*, vigilantly provident for the People's Safety, took from the famed *Timotheus*'s Harp the additional Strings, as giving his Muſick a Degree of Softneſs inconſiſtent with their Diſcipline. The divine

(5) *Cicero, lib. 2. de leg. cap.* 39.

Plato

Plato is expreſly of Opinion, that the *Muſick* of a Country cannot be changed, and the *publick Laws* remain unaffected. Heroes will be Heroes, even in in their Muſick. Soft and wanton are the warbled Songs of (6) *Paris*; but (7) *Achilles* ſings the God-like Deeds of Heroes. A noble, manly Muſick will place Virtue in its moſt beautiful Light, and be the moſt engaging Incentive to it. A well wrought Story, attended with its prevailing Charms, will tranſport the Soul out of itſelf; fire it with glorious Emulation; and lift the Man into an Hero; but the ſoft *Italian* Muſick relaxes and unnerves the Soul, and ſinks it into Weakneſs; ſo that while we receive their *Muſick*, we at the ſame Time are adopting their *Manners*. The Effects of it will appear in the ſtrongeſt Light from the Fate of the People of *Sybaris*; a Town in *Italy*, ſtrong and wealthy; bleſſed with all the Goods of Fortune, and skill'd in all the Arts of Luxury and Eaſe; which they carried to ſo great an Exceſs, that their very *Horſes* were taught to move and form themſelves as the *Muſick* directed. Their conſtant Enemies, the People of *Crotona*, obſerving This, brought a great Number of Harps and Pipes into the Field, and when the Battle began, the Muſick play'd; upon which theſe well-bred Horſes immediately began to dance; which ſo diſconcerted the whole Army, that 300,000 were kill'd, and the whole People deſtroyed. Though this Story ſeems a little *fabulous*, yet it contains, at leaſt, a very good Moral.—What Effect *Italian* Muſick might have on our polite Warriors at *Gibraltar*, I can't take upon me to ſay; but I wiſh our *Luxury* at home may not influence our *Courage* abroad. *O.*

(6) *Hor. lib.* 1. *Od.* 15.

——————Gratæq; fœminis,
Imbelli citharæ, carmina divides.

(7) *Hom. Iliad.* 9. 189.

Monday,

N° 30. *Monday, March* 20.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, *Esq;*

SIR,

THOUGH you have not publiſhed, according to your Promiſe, *an Account of the whole Affair of your Man* ROBIN; *and the Motives, which induced you to proceed, in a gentle Manner, with ſo ungrateful and refractory a Servant*; yet, it is very pleaſing to your Friends, that they can now ſafely communicate their Thoughts, ſince you have ordered your Letters to be taken in by your Bookſeller. Indeed, Mr. *D'Anvers*, it was no ſmall Grievance to have them intercepted, and ſtifled, as they were very frequently before; for, how ſhall your poor *Tenants* and *Servants* be redreſs'd, when they are injured, if the *Channel*, through which their Complaints are to be convey'd, is interrupted or ſtopped up?

To give you one Inſtance of the Candour of your *Servants*, and their Regard to the Intereſt of your *Tenants*, amongſt many others, which may be enumerated. They were often applied to, in relation to ſome *Acts of Violence*, committed by the Count PHILIPEAUX's Servants, without receiving any manner of Satisfaction, except fair Speeches, and Promiſes, which they are very bountiful in beſtowing. Yet, I am informed, that they have *ſince* made Uſe of thoſe very *Complaints*, upon ſome other Differences between you and that Gentleman, which are like to end in a troubleſome and expenſive *Law-ſuit*; not that thoſe

thoſe unhappy People will be in any wiſe the better for it; but it ſerves a Turn at this preſent Juncture. Had They adviſed you to reſent thoſe Abuſes in time, it might have prevented ſome other Injuries, which you have ſuſtain'd; for *Mankind are apt to impoſe on Thoſe, who will either bear it, or make the leaſt Conceſſion.*

It has often grieved me, when I was at *one of your Plantations*, which is eſteemed the moſt conſiderable of them all, to ſee the ruinous Condition it was in, and the little Care that was taken to improve, or keep it in order; for it was over-run with Weeds, and the Encloſures were all broken down; ſo that no Man's Property could be diſtinguiſhed, or aſſerted. The Neighbours Cattle ranged in the Corn-Fields, and Meadows; and your *Tenants* were daily inſulted, nay plundered, without being able to obtain any kind of Redreſs. Your *Stewards* and *Servants* at home, as well as Thoſe abroad, were too intent upon their own *private Affairs*, to have any Regard to thoſe Oppreſſions, or indeed to your Honour and Intereſt, which were affected by them; and how can it be otherwiſe, when your *Plantations* are generally under the Direction of *indigent* and *ignorant* Perſons? Can you reaſonably expect to be better ſerved by ſuch Men; or that your Intereſt, in thoſe Parts, can be improved, or even preſerved from Deſtruction, unleſs more Care is taken of them? What Complaints are daily made of the inſolent Behaviour of ſome of your *Domeſticks*, and the *corrupt Practices* of others? If They, who are under your Eye, behave in that manner, is it not reaſonable to lay Thoſe under a greater Reſtraint, who are at a diſtance, and veſted with Powers too extenſive to be repoſited in the Hands of any Mortal; *the Generality of Mankind being Tyrants in their Nature, and not to be truſted with an unlimited Power?*

I could wiſh, *Sir*, that you would now and then, of an Evening, come *incog* to the publick Coffee-houſes, as ſome of your Predeceſſors have done; for then you will be truly informed of the Opinions and Sentiments of Mankind, who cannot be ſuſpected of any ſiniſter Deſigns, ſince you will, by thoſe Means, be unknown to them.

It was pleaſant enough, the other Day, to hear one of your *menial Servants*, (a Creature of ROBIN's) after many Invectives, and baſe Inſinuations, aſſert, with a confident Air, that you are not the Author of the *Craftſman*; but that thoſe Papers are written by ſome of your *diſcarded Servants*, to vent their *Spleen* and *Malice*; and that they impoſe upon the World, by prefixing your Name to them. Nay, he had the Aſſurance to mention ſome particular Perſons, who are not only incapable of any low Deſigns, but are as eminent for their *Wit* and *fine Parts*, as for their *Probity* and *untainted Virtue*.

I cannot help making one Obſervation more. Since you appointed Dr. *King* Phyſician to your Family, and recommended his *Noſtrums* to the World, your *Servants*, and ſome of your *Tenants* in *Staffordſhire* are ſo wonderfully fond of his Preſcriptions, that they look on Thoſe, who are not of ſo happy a Conſtitution, as to be able to ſwallow or digeſt them, either diſaffected to your Perſon, or to be in an ill Habit of Body; for my Part, tho' I have a very great perſonal Regard for you, and perhaps may allow the *Doctor* to be an ingenious Gentleman; yet, methinks, 'tis very hard that a Man muſt be abuſed, or ſuffer in his Character, becauſe he has not the ſame Opinion of your *Operator*. It is certain, whatever Improvements he hath made, he does not pretend that thoſe *Noſtrums* are his own; but that he learnt them of the famous Dr. CATILINE; nor, indeed, are they *infallible Remedies*; for they only *patch* and *palliate*, and have not been known to perfect any one Cure. This

is

is evident from the continual *Supplies*, with which he is obliged to furniſh his *Patients*, leſt They ſhould otherwiſe relapſe into their *former* Diſtempers.

Now, *Sir*, give me Leave to make ſome Mention of myſelf, and to deſire a Favour of you. I was once a very active Man, and have been in ſeveral Parts of the World; but as I am advanced in Life, I feel ſome of the Infirmities of old Age creeping upon me, *viz.* a ſtrong Propenſity to *get Money*, and to live in a *ſedentary Way*. I ſhould therefore be glad of a *Place*, that will bring in *much*, and require *little* to be done for it. Several of my Neighbours, by your Bounty, enjoy themſelves after that manner; which makes me deſirous of doing the ſame. What I am moſt inclined to, is a *good Benefice*; for I am informed that you have ſeveral in your Gift. I am not, indeed, *in Orders*; but why may not I act by a *Deputy*, as well as another? I am ſure, it is altogether as reaſonable, and may as juſtly be diſpenſed with, as many Things, which are tolerated by your *favourite Servants*, in whom you confide. I muſt own myſelf defective in ſome faſhionable Qualities; and that I am one of thoſe unfortunate Fellows, who dare not act repugnant to *Reaſon*, or the Dictates of my own *Conſcience*. It is likewiſe a Misfortune to me, that I am not allied to, nor even acquainted with any of your *Domeſticks*; and therefore I might probably fail of obtaining their Favour and Recommendation, though I was maſter of the *neceſſary Talents* of *lying*, *pimping*, &c. but, notwithſtanding theſe Diſcouragements, I have hopes of overcoming them, if you are diſpoſed; for I am maſter of ſome *Arguments of ſuch Weight*, as ſeldom fail to convince Men of their Reaſon and Underſtanding. Nay, rather than be diſappointed, I will allow them *one Half* of the Profits; as I am told many others do; for certainly there is a good deal of Reaſon and Truth in an old *Engliſh* Proverb, that, *Half a Loaf is better than no Bread*.

O.

ADVERTISEMENT.

Next Week will be publiſhed,

The REASONABLENESS *of* CONFORMITY *to the Meaſures of a* COURT; *in which all* political Examination *and* private Judgment *will be proved to be* abſolutely *and* properly *inconſiſtent with the* Nature *and* End *of* Civil Government. *To which will be added, An* Appendix; *containing ſome perſuaſive Conſiderations on the* PROFITABLENESS *of ſuch* CONFORMITY.

——quocunque modo REM. Hor.

Printed by W. W. *and ſold by* T. W. *in* Pater-noſter Row.

By whom will be publiſhed, a new Paper, intituled,

The LYE OF THE DAY; N° 1. *demonſtrating that* Liberty *tends to the Deſtruction of a* free People; *and that* Patriotiſm *is only* Treaſon *in diſguiſe; with ſome Arguments to ſhew that a* JACOBITE *and a* DISSENTER *from the* PRESENT MINISTRY *are ſynonymous Terms.*

To be continued every Day *in the Week, except Sundays. By a* Club *of Gentlemen near St.* JAMES's.

Friday,

N° 31. *Friday, March* 24.

— *Dic,* SENIOR, *bullâ dignissime, nescis*
Quot habeat veneres aliena pecunia? nescis
Quem tua simplicitas risum vulgo moveat, cum
Exigis à quoquam ne pejeret, & putet ullis
Esse aliquod numen Templis, Aræq; rubenti.

Juv.

* IT must be Matter of great Satisfaction to me, in the Prosecution of this Undertaking, that no Arguments have been urged by any of the Writers, who have sprung up against me, but such as would equally serve to discredit the Zeal of the worthiest Patriots or the best-designing Authors, and might as justly be made use of to defend the *worst Ministers*, that ever were in the World, as to vindicate *Those*, for whose Service they have been advanced.

Though none of the Writings of my Adversaries have met with such a Reception from the Publick as can make me in any wise uneasy, or be thought to deserve any Answer; yet it may not be improper to take a short Review of the general Topicks, which

* *N. B.* Though Mr. *Francklin* had been taken up for Printing the *Vision of Camilick*, [N° 16.] yet the *first Prosecution* in *Westminster-Hall* was grounded upon *this Paper*; but by a Flaw in some of the Forms of Proceeding, it came to nothing.

have been moſt inſiſted on; from whence it will appear to what low Shifts and miſerable Subterfuges they have been driven; and how even *thoſe Men*, who have formerly written with Credit and Succeſs, are obliged to ſacrifice their Reputation, when they engage in the Defence of an unjuſt Cauſe.

One great Charge, which I have ſuffered under, in common with many other Gentlemen, is, that I was moved to this Undertaking by *perſonal Prejudice*; and write out of *Pique*, *Diſappointment* and *Revenge*; a Charge, which has been very loudly and confidently repeated by every vile Fool and wretched Court-ſcribler againſt me. Nay, ſome of them have gone further; and, not content with ſetting me forth as a *diſguſted Malecontent*, have endeavoured to foiſt *Diſaffection* upon me, and make me a *Jacobite* in ſpight of my Teeth. Though I am conſcious of my own Innocence in all theſe Particulars; yet I am not in the leaſt aſtoniſhed at ſuch Imputations; becauſe it is a known Artifice of *bad Miniſters* to repreſent all Diſapprobation of *their Meaſures*, as proceeding from the *ſame Motives*; and to pronounce any Oppoſition, which *They* meet with, to be the Effect of ſome ſecret Deſign againſt the *Prince*, whom they ſerve. But as This is my hard Lot at preſent, ſo I have the Pleaſure to reflect that it hath been equally the Fate of many worthy Men in all Ages; and particularly of ſome *moſt incomparable Perſons*, but a few Years ago; as I ſhall prove at large in my next, by a faithful Abſtract of *thoſe Papers*, which were publiſhed at that Time againſt them; and in a ſucceeding one, I will produce the *Anſwers*, which They and their Seconds made to thoſe Objections; leaving the Reader to determine, whether they will not equally ſerve to vindicate the Conduct of *thoſe Gentlemen*, who ſuffer at preſent under the like Imputations.

The next Objection, which has been frequently made to theſe Papers, is that I am guilty of Diſingenity and

and a mean Deſign of calumniating Men in high Stations under *feigned Characters*, and by other indirect Methods, ſuch as *Ironies*, *Allegories*, *Parallels*, and remote *Innuendos*; which are called low Arts; unworthy of a generous Adverſary; and certain Marks that I am not influenced by any Regard to the *publick Good*; but by *private Views* and *ſiniſter ill Deſigns*.

In order to make This the more plauſible, a great deal of Pains hath been taken to diſtinguiſh between *Calumny* and *juſt Accuſation*; which are, no doubt, very eſſentially different from one another, as a certain worthy Author judiciouſly obſerves, when he ſays that "In *one Caſe* a Man muſt produce his "*Evidence*; name his *Witneſſes*; give his *Reaſons*; "be particular as to *Perſons*, *Places*, *Times*, *Circum-* "*ſtances*. In the *other*, you will meet with little "elſe than *Innuendos*; *general Poſitions*; meer *Aſ-* "*ſertions* without *Proof*; *Failings* magnified into "*Faults*; *Overſights* repreſented as *high Crimes*; "the *Circumſtances* of Things over-looked; *odious* "and *invidious* Caſes put; *different Times* compared, "without the Difference of the *Circumſtances* of "Things, *&c.*" from whence it is inferr'd, that no Man in Power ought to be *accuſed*, but in ſuch a *publick*, *open* and *judicial* Manner; and that all other Methods of expoſing or attacking his Reputation, however juſtly, are *baſe* and *ſcandalous*, and ought to be rejected with Contempt as meer *Obloquy* and *Scandal*.

I ſhall make but one general Reply to all this deſi cate Reaſoning, and leave thoſe *political Caſuiſts*, for the future, to ring the Changes on the ſame darling Topick, as long as they pleaſe, without any Interruption.

In the firſt Place, I abſolutely deny the Truth of this Charge; or that I have any other Deſign in my preſent Undertaking than to expoſe *Vice in general*,

and vindicate the Honour of my Country, without alluding to *particular Perſons*. But if two Caſes happen to be ſo much alike, that the generality of the World will compare what I relate of *former Times* to the *preſent*; or if any *great Men* will apply bad Characters to Themſelves, I do not think my ſelf anſwerable for *ſuch Applications*; ſince I cannot direct the Opinions of the Publick, nor prevent the Reflections of another Man's Conſcience.

In the ſecond Place, I cannot agree with this Author that all Methods of *accuſing* great Men, except in a *judicial* Manner, are either *mean* or *unjuſtifiable*; for I muſt here take the Liberty to diſtinguiſh, in my Turn, between *Accuſations* of *private Perſons*, and of *Men in Authority*. In the *former* Caſe, the Laws are always open; and the Party injured may reaſonably expect Juſtice, without any Apprehenſions from the Power or Riches of the Criminal; which makes all other Kinds of *Accuſation* impertinent and ſcandalous; but in the *latter*, we muſt not always rely on the moſt equitable Proceedings or the juſteſt Determination; for *great Men* have frequent Opportunities of ſcreening themſelves, in ſuch a Manner, by *Cabals*, *Alliances*, *Corruption*, or the *Favour* of an indulgent Prince, that it is commonly very difficult to bring them to condign Puniſhment; even when they are guilty of the moſt notorious Oppreſſions, and are publickly complained of as the Nuiſances of their Country.

As there are Times for all Things, ſo there is more eſpecially a proper Seaſon for bringing *great Offenders* to Juſtice; which ought not to be undertaken raſhly and unadviſedly, but with due Deliberation, and at fit Opportunities, when there is a general Cry for Vengeance and Redreſs. Things muſt be firſt ſet in a true Light; the Eyes of the People muſt be open'd; the Force of Prejudice muſt be overcome; the Influence of Power muſt be withdrawn; and ſeveral preparatory

tory Steps are neceſſary to be taken, before an *over-grown Criminal* can be brought to a fair Tryal, or Juſtice can be done to an injur'd Nation.

To accuſe a *publick Miniſter* in the *Zenith* of his Power, would be Madneſs or Folly; becauſe ſuch a fruitleſs Attempt muſt end in his Triumph and the Completion of his Deſigns. Accordingly we may obſerve, that ſeveral *wicked Miniſters*, when they have found themſelves waining in their Authority, have defy'd their Adverſaries with more than ordinary Inſolence, and endeavoured to provoke them to a *publick Accuſation*, before Matters were ſufficiently ripen'd for it; well knowing that an *abortive* IMPEACHMENT would ſerve their Turn as well as the moſt comprehenſive *Act of* INDEMNITY.

But it has always been a Practice, under the moſt corrupt Adminiſtrations, to quote *Examples* and draw *Parallels* out of Hiſtory, in order to prove what Effect the ſame Male-practices have had on different States, or on the ſame States in former Ages; nor can This be look'd upon as diſingenuous or a Libel on the *preſent Miniſters* of any Kingdom, any more than a Comment on the *Ten Commandments* can be call'ed a Libel on every *notorious Sinner* in the Pariſh.

I grant, indeed, that it would be more *honourable*, as well as more *uſeful*, to write without *Diſguiſe*, provided it were equally *ſafe*. But would not any Man be eſteemed a *Lunatick*, who ſhould, in plain Terms, attack ſuch a Monſter as *Wolſey* or *Buckingham*, in the Plenitude of their Power; eſpecially, if he has any *parallel Inſtances* at Hand; or can throw the ſame Thoughts under *Shades* and *Allegories*? I appeal to thoſe Gentlemen, who ſeem moſt diſturbed at this manner of Writing, whether they thought it, in any wiſe, *diſingenuous*, when they practiſed it themſelves, with great Freedom, both in the *late* and the *preſent* Reign.

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If ſuch Objectors were to put their Meaning into plain *Engliſh*, it would run much in this Manner. "For God's ſake, Gentlemen, why don't you ſpeak "out, and ſubject yourſelves to *thoſe Penalties*, which "we long to inflict upon you? Methinks, it is very "*diſingenuous* in you to ſculk behind the *Laws*, and "publiſh nothing but what you can *juſtify*."

Such a Complaint of *Diſingenuity* is very extraordinary at this Juncture; for it ſeems highly unreaſonable to expect that any Man ſhould ſpeak or write on theſe Subjects, without *Reſerve*, at a Time, when even *ſuppoſed Ironies*, *imaginary Parallels*, and *forced Innuendos* are, by ſome Perſons, thought not to be exempt from the Penalties of the Law.

However, if theſe worthy Gentlemen, who ſo courteouſly invite us to lay our ſelves open to the Mercy of *great Men*, will undertake to obtain a farther Extention of the *Liberty of the Preſs*; or procure a ſufficient Warrant for writing with Impunity, and without any Reſtraint, on theſe Subjects; I don't know what I may be tempted to do; but till I am aſſured of ſuch an Indemnification, I ſhall content my ſelf with publiſhing theſe plain, general, inoffenſive Lectures of *political Morality*, for the Diſcharge of my own Conſcience; and leave my loving Countrymen to make, or not to make, any *Applications*, as they ſhall judge proper.

The moſt extraordinary Objection againſt me is, that I have preſumptuouſly advanced ſeveral untowardly Arguments againſt *publick Corruption*, and perverſely endeavoured to recommend *Frugality* as a national Virtue; but I have This to urge in my Excuſe, that however the *former* may prevail amongſt us; and however the *latter* may ſeem to have been diſcountenanced; yet ſo much *Decency* has been hitherto preſerved, that no Perſon, except the Author of a late Pamphlet, intituled, CLODIUS and CICERO, has

has thought fit openly to defend the *one* or explode the *other*.

Theſe, it ſeems, were mean, prevaricating Compliances, in the Opinion of this Writer; who reſolved to be more *ingenuous* himſelf; and, ſcorning to mince Matters, or conceal any Truth, hath not been aſhamed to ſpread Abroad in the World a publick and avowed Defence of *Bribery*, *Corruption*, and *Venality*.

He tells us very frankly that "Some *publick Corruptions* there are of that Strength and Prevalence, "that, however *ſhameful* and *pernicious* they may be, "they muſt yet be ſuffered to *remain*;" and ſeems to inſinuate (at leaſt by a ſtronger *Innuendo* than can be charged upon my Writings) that, *ſuch is the Situation of Things, that* Meaſures ſtrictly Virtuous *would bring* preſent Confuſion; *and that an endeavour to* reform *would* overturn *the Conſtitution*.

In order to enforce theſe worthy Tenets, he produces ſeveral Examples of great Men, who have periſhed in the Defence of *popular Liberty*, and in their Attempts to remove *publick Corruptions* and *Enormities*, *viz.* the two famous *Gracchi*; *Agis* and *Cleomenes*, Kings of *Sparta*; and the *ſecond Brutus*; from whence he ſeems to draw this Concluſion; that *no Man, for the future*, ought *to make the like Attempts*; whereas, methinks, the proper Inference of an honeſt *Briton* ſhould be, that *we ought to follow the Example of thoſe* noble Patriots, *in aſſerting the* Liberties *of our Country, and not to be deterr'd by any* Difficulties, *or even* Death *itſelf, from purſuing the ſame* glorious Cauſe.

He then, with an inſulting Air, puts the following Queſtions. "What have availed all our *ſumptu*"*ary Laws?* What all Thoſe againſt *Gaming* and "*Duelling?* What Thoſe againſt *Bribery?* Only to "demonſtrate how much more Force there is in *Lux*"*ury*, and *Vanity*, and *Avarice*, than there is in "*Laws*

" *Laws* with all their *Penalties?*" This is indeed too true; but I am willing to hope that they have, at leaſt, ſome Influence, and may poſſibly keep many Men from being more bare-faced in their Iniquities. They hang over their Heads *in terrorem*; and may, in any flagrant Caſe, be put in Execution; for which Reaſon, however ineffectual they may be at preſent, I ſhould be very ſorry to ſee them *repealed*.

He endeavours to diſcourage *publick Frugality* (which he acknowledges to be an *excellent Virtue*) in the ſame manner that he patronizes *publick Corruption* (which he allows to be a *ſhameful* and *pernicious Vice*) by telling us that it was the *Bane* of the Emperor *Galba*, who was murdered by his Soldiers for refuſing to *bribe* them; upon which he obſerves, that " the *Romans* were then come to that paſs of *Sor-* " *didneſs* and *Venality*, that they would not do their " *Duty*; no, not ſave their Country without *Lucre*, " and *Wages extraordinary*. This was a *melancholy* " *Evil*; but it was *neceſſary*; for *without it*, the State " could not *ſubſiſt*.

I need not explain the *Doctrine*, which is imply'd in this Paragraph; ſince it is ſo very obvious, that it cannot poſſibly eſcape the ſhalloweſt Apprehenſion.

I will conclude with one more Objection to theſe Papers; which is, that ſuch *general Invectives* (as they are called) might be equally applied to *any Miniſters*, however *honeſt* and *virtuous*; whereas I think it might be much more ſtrongly objected againſt theſe Writers, that their *general Apologies* and *Panegyricks* would equally ſerve to flatter and defend any *Adminiſtration*, however *corrupt*; for my Papers, which conſiſt of *general Satire* againſt wicked Men, will loſe their Effect and ceaſe to be ſevere, when they are apply'd to Perſons, who are *not guilty*; or, at leaſt, *not generally ſuppoſed to be guilty* of the Crimes, which they condemn; whereas the Writings of my Adverſaries, eſpecially of the *Author*, whom I mentioned laſt,

laſt, are not calculated ſo much to prove the Innocence of *thoſe Perſons*, for whoſe Service they are publiſhed, as to palliate *confeſſed Guilt*, and vindicate *notorious Corruption*. *D.*

N° 32. *Monday, March* 27.

———quieſcant *porro* moneo, & *deſinant*
Maledicere, Malefacta *ne noſcant* ſua. Ter.

AS the blackeſt Deſigns are often cover'd with the faireſt Pretences, in order to prevent Detection and impoſe on the Publick; ſo the beſt Diſpoſitions, and the worthieſt Actions are ſubject to ill-natured Gloſſes and falſe Repreſentations. I have met with ſome modern Philoſophers, who maintain that *Courage* proceeds originally from *Fear*; that *Humility* is commonly founded in *Pride*; and *Liberality* to *others* derived from *Self-love*; but the *political Virtues* are more eſpecially liable to ſuch invidious Comments, which the Malice of oppoſite Parties is always ready to fix upon them; from whence it comes to paſs, that the warmeſt *Patriotiſm* and ſincereſt Concern for the *publick Good* are often ſet forth in the moſt oppoſite Light, and imputed to *private Pique*, *Diſappointment*, and *Ambition*. This was the Caſe of ſeveral *honourable Gentlemen*, who were moſt infamouſly aſperſed and inſulted, about *nine Years* ago, for RESIGNING *their Employments*, and withdrawing their Concurrence to ſome *Meaſures*, which were then carrying on.

That the Truth of what I have been obſerving on this Head may the more evidently appear, I have thought

thought fit to preſent the Reader with ſome remarkable *Extracts* out of a malicious Treatiſe, which was publiſhed at that Time with the Countenance of *Authority*; tending chiefly to blacken the Characters of *two moſt excellent Perſons*, who have out-lived thoſe Aſperſions, and reign at preſent in the higheſt Favour of their Prince, and the general Eſteem of their Fellow-ſubjects.

Extracts from a Pamphlet, intituled The DEFECTION *conſider'd, &c. Printed in the Year* 1717.

(Page 9.) " Strangers think theſe Quarrels among " Men, whoſe Principles are the beſt calculated for " the Good of Mankind, muſt have ſome *extraordi-* " *nary Reaſons*. They can't well imagine that *They*, " who have cauſed thoſe Diviſions, have nothing to " object againſt the *preſent Adminiſtration*; and that " it is chiefly for the Sake of a *ſingle Perſon*, who, " not content with the moſt beneficial Poſts, threw " up in a *Pet*, becauſe he could not *govern every* " *Thing*; and then confederated with ſuch, as, till " the Moment he declared himſelf a *Country Gentle-* " *man*, he continually repreſented as the *vileſt* of Men, " and *Traytors* to their *King* and *Country*.

(Page 19.) " Men in high Stations, tho' they have " fine and florid Parts, yet if they want *ſolid Senſe* " and a good Stock of *real Virtue*, to enable them to " bear their Grandeur with *Moderation*, grow *giddy* " and *inſolent* upon their Exaltation; and, believing " every thing due to their *ſuperior Merit*, form " Schemes of ENGROSSING their Royal Maſter, and " think they are affronted if any of their *Creatures* " (how well ſoever they may deſerve it) are turn'd " out; or their Prince beſtows his Favours without " their Leave; and rather than ſuffer This, they " will throw up, though in the Middle of a Seſ- " ſion, and not ſcruple to embroil the publick Af- " fairs,

" fairs, in order to make themſelves neceſſary; and " to force the Prince to part with Thoſe, who, he " he judges, beſt deſerve his Kindneſs, and to em- " ploy none but *Them* and *their Creatures*.

(Page 20.) " That ſuch a Deſign was on Foot, " when the King went abroad, is plain from *two* " *Perſons* threatening to lay down, if that *moſt noble* " *Peer*, employed ſince with ſo much Reputation, " was made the *third Secretary of State*. This *In-* " *ſolence*; their great *Intimacy* with a G—l in diſ- " grace; and *truſty Horace* being officiouſly ſent with " a Scheme for the Parliament's ſitting, during the " *King's Abſence*, ſhocked many People; though far " from imagining they were capable of acting what " ſince has been done.

" If a *certain Gentleman* contrived this Scheme to " get the *Staff*, and govern *England*; even his *Inſtru-* " *ments* can't hope to keep their Poſts, but by an *ob-* " *ſequious, ſlaviſh Compliance*; for whoſoever is *in-* " *ſolent* to his *Prince*, will be *intolerable*, when in " Power, to his *Fellow-ſubjects*; and He muſt have a " vitiated Taſte indeed, who thinks it not better to " ſerve a *good King*, of whoſe Favour he may be ſure " as long as he does his Duty, than be a *Slave* to any " *Fellow-ſubject*; eſpecially *One*, who lately would " have thought himſelf very fortunate, if, inſtead of " forming Schemes for *governing theſe Kingdoms*, he " could have found Means of being freed from the " *Inconveniencies* he then labour'd under.

" *Quitting of Places* is no Crime; but if Several " cabal to throw up, when the Government has moſt " Occaſion for their Service, in order to force it to " comply with their unreaſonable Demands; This " is a very *criminal Conſpiracy*; eſpecially in *that* " *Perſon*, who has not only got *incredible Sums* for " *himſelf*; but who could ask nothing of his gene- " rous Maſter (and all the World knows, he is none " of the *moſt modeſt* in asking) for his *Children, Re-*

" *lations* and *Friends*, but what has been given him. " This muſt fill every honeſt *Briton* with Indignation " againſt ſuch *vile Ingratitude*.

(Page 25.) " A *brave Man*, if driven to Extremity, " would rather employ one, who had been an *open* " *Enemy*, than a *treacherous Friend*; who has con- " vinced the World, that there is no *Tye* capable to " hold him; but that he is ready to ſacrifice every " thing to his *Intereſt*, *Ambition* and *Revenge*.

(Page 29.) " Moſt People thought (and I own I " was of the Number) that the Uſage *this Gentle-* " *man* met with from the *Tories* was ſufficient to " ſhew that no Price could gain him; but, in truth, " they did not conſider, that after the *Whigs* had " been charged with *cheating* and *plundering* the Pub- " lick, and no Proof was made of it; a *Vote* of the " *Houſe of Commons*, of a *Breach of Truſt* and *notori-* " *ous Corruption* in any Man among them, who had " been employed in ſuch eminent Poſts, would be of " more Advantage to the *Tories*, than all the Services " he could do them; and They were ſure he ſhould " do them no Hurt, being reſolved to *expel* him the " Houſe.

(Page 35.) " A Man once ſent to Priſon for *Bri-* " *bery* and *Corruption* (no Matter whether the Mo- " ney was for *Himſelf* or his *Creature*) becomes as " *hardened*, as a Wench ſent to *Bridewel* for a leſs " Fault; but could he offer 90,000 *l.* for *one Pur-* " *chaſe*; or were he worth but half as much, as his " Friends ſay he is, ſuppoſes ſeveral *ſuch Jobs* muſt " have been done; without which *a Government*, ac- " cording to Lord *H——t*, *is not worth ſerving*.

(Page 36.) " It cannot be denied, that Things are " now in ſo good a Method, and ſo quickly expedited " in the Treaſury, that the *Lords Commiſſioners* never " riſe, till they have diſpatched whatever Buſineſs " comes before them; ſo that, at their laſt Adjourn- " ment, there was not a Paper left undetermined.

There

" There is now no Complaint of a *certain Office* held " in the *Strand*, or any where elſe, which diſpoſed of " *Places* to the higheſt Bidder; or of *Grants* of Places " in *Reverſion*, or for Life, to *Children* and *Relati-* " *ons*.

(Page 41.) " People were ſurprized to find ſo little " Regard paid to the frequent Petitions of the *Mer-* " *chants*, complaining of the Interruption of their " Trade in the *Baltick*, and the taking ſuch Numbers " of their Ships by the *Swedes*; and that, even while " we had a royal Navy in the *Sound*, they were per- " mitted, with Impunity, to act * the *Pirates*; but " GYLLEMBORG's Letters help to explain this My- " ſtery; where we find that the Ships taken from us " were to ſerve as Tranſports to their Army. Had " not this *belliſh Conſpiracy* been ſeaſonably diſcover- " ed, what Sums might not the *Poſts*, which a *certain* " *Gentleman* then enjoyed, have gained him by *this* " *Invaſion*; ſince no *Expence* would have been " thought too great to have quickly got rid of thoſe " barbarous Ravagers?

" If *another Perſon* (as it was reported) ſaid juſt " before he was removed, that *He had rather ſee an* " *Army of* Swedes *here than the Act about* Occaſional " Conformity *repealed*; I ſhould not wonder, conſi- " dering from what Prieſts he got his *Church-Poli-* " *ticks*; and by what *artful Men* he has all along " been wholly governed in *State-Matters*.

(Page 46.) " Every one was at firſt ſurprized to ſee " that though all the *Rebels* might have been, with " little Expence, tried in the *North*, where they were " taken, and where the Witneſſes were ready at hand; " yet none but the *poorer* and *meaner Sort* were there " tried; but all of any tolerable *Condition* or *Sub-* " *ſtance* were, at a great *Charge* to the Government,

* *As the* Spaniards *have lately done in the* Weſt-Indies.

" brought to Town.—This, I ſay, ſurprized People, " till they conſidered that no *Bargains* could conve- " niently be made but *here*; and that *here* was the " *Money* of the Party, as well as their common *Rei-* " *dezvous*; and that it might well be preſumed, they " would not *ſpare their Purſes* to ſave the Lives of " *Thoſe*, who had ventured every thing for the Cauſe.

(Page 48.) If Men are in haſte to grow *Rich*, there " is, no doubt, more to be got by *not Proſecuting*, or " by *Saving*, than *Hanging*;- and we may gueſs at " the Reaſon, why *two Perſons*, (not to mention o- " thers) *One*, who knew there was ſuch plain Evi- " dence againſt him, that, in deſpair, he ſtabbed him- " ſelf; and the *Other*, though now a *new Ally*, " thought ſo great a Criminal, with ſuch full Proof " againſt him, as not to be admitted to Bail on any " Terms, were *both* diſmiſſed without *any Proſecution*.

I will beg Leave to add a Paragraph or two from another Pamphlet, written in the *ſame Spirit*, and publiſhed at the ſame *Time*, intituled, *An Anſwer to the Character and Conduct of* R—t W———le, *Eſquire*; *with an exact Account of his* POPULARITY.

(Page 14.) " There is no Crime a Man can be " guilty of, which I more abhor, than that of *Bri-* " *bery* and *Corruption*, whatever *Qualifications* he " may have; whether it be in *ſpeaking* or *writing* " well. If once he gives himſelf up to *Touching* (as " they call it) I give him over as *incurable*; for if he " is detected and rebuked, he will be apt to think " that his Puniſhment will make him *popular*; and if " he ever comes into Play again, he will be MORE " VORACIOUS than ever; and, if not more *cunning*, " his having been once in a *Goal* will make him ſo " *conſiderable*, that whatever R——y you charge him " with, he will only *ſwear* at you; and, in an *impu-* " *dent* Manner, *dare* any one to tell what they know

" of

" of him. But his *Impudence* will not be all; for, " he that hath once forfeited his *Character*, is not " unlike a Woman that hath loſt her *Modeſty*. That " Man, who hath once committed a *Breach of Truſt*, " either towards his *King* or *Country*, I do believe " there is a *Conſideration*, that would tempt him to " *ſell* either or both, as well as their Favour, at a " Time, when he has *more Friends* unprovided for, " than can ſupport Themſelves.

(Page 19.) " The King's Favours, we may now " expect, will be no longer confined to *one Province*; " and there, for moſt part, to *one Family*; but they " will be diſperſed as generally as the Sun ſhines, " throughout the whole Kingdom, amongſt his Ma- " jeſty's loyal Proteſtant Subjects.

" Thoſe, who enjoy his Majeſty's Favours at pre- " ſent, if they conduct themſelves as they ought to " do, ſhall no more be *ſent to*, or obliged ſcanda- " louſly to *truckle* and (what they call) *come down* to " this or that *Man*, for his being acquainted with or " related to a *certain Family*; He that has moſt Me- " rit, and deſerved beſt from his King and Country " will be duly *preferr'd*, without asking him where " he was *born*, or whom he is *related to*? If he has " *Merit* and *Loyalty*, He need now *no Money* to ad- " vance him, ſince ROBINOCRACY is baniſhed. " We ſhall have no *Penſions* ask'd for *diſaffected* " *Relations*; no *Thouſands a Year* to any *diſaffected* " *Man*, becauſe He is *Uncle* to a *Man in Power*; " nor ſhall an *honeſt Man* be turned out of Place, for " an *Uncle* to be quarter'd on his *Succeſſor*. I ſhall not " mention any Thing of *Reverſions* granted to *Chil-* " *dren*; becauſe they may grow up to be *honeſt Men* " and deſerve them.

(Pag. 22.) " Tho' ſome People have been pleaſed " to compliment *Him* ſo far, as to throw themſelves " out of Employments; I am apt to believe there " are ſome, even of them, who will be very far

" from *oppreſſing* the King's Servants, becauſe Mr. " *W———le* is not one of them; or that They " will venture to ſay, as *others* have done, that the " *King's Service* was become a *Burthen*, too great " for a *Man of Honour* to bear ——— and I doubt " not, but there will come *a Day*, when *this Charge* " will not only turn upon the *Authors* of it; but " that it will alſo be attended with ſuch *Puniſhments*, " as are adequate to the *Ingratitude* and *Preſumption* " of the Man, who has dared to ſay, that there was " any Thing in the *King's Service*, either *unjuſt* or " *diſhonourable* for any Man whatever to tranſact.

(Pag. 23.) "Since you are pleaſed to commend " Mr. *W———le's* OEconomy in the *T———y*; " his great Skill in preventing *publick Credit* from " ſinking; and that the *publick Debts* were not *in-* " *creaſed*, but in a fair way to be *leſſen'd*; at leaſt " that *it would have been ſo, had He been ſuffered* " *to continue in the Management*, and his *nice Notions* " and *Judgment* in improving Things relating to FO- " REIGN TREATIES; I ſhall tell you what I have " heard of Him: and in the firſt Place as to *publick* " *Credit*; the *Citizens* will ſay, that He *oppoſed* a " Motion that was made for a Reſolution of Parlia- " ment to ſupport *publick Credit*; but perhaps you will " ſay, He only did it in Oppoſition to a *particular Per-* " *ſon*, who refuſed to draw with him; but be That as it " will, every Body finds *publick Credit* ſo much the " *better* ſince his being *turn'd out*, that every Thing has " riſen 20 *per Cent.* more than it was during his *Ma-* " *nagement*; from whence you may judge, that the Peo- " ple, who have all along ſupported the Government, " and who muſt again do it, in Caſe of Neceſſity, have " a much better Opinion of their Fortunes being in " the Hands of the preſent Adminiſtration, than of " their being in His; and that they will hardly ever " care to truſt a *Man* with their *Eſtates*, who ſhall " take upon him to ſay, *that* publick Credit *is no more* " *than what you are pleaſed* to make it. (Pag.

(Pag. 32.) " In the mean Time, you had beſt for-
" bear calling Miniſters a *Faction*; or take upon you
" to cenſure the *King*, becauſe Mr. *W——le* is out
" of *Humour*. You make thoſe Compariſons with
" King *Charles*'s and King *James*'s Miniſters. Turn
" your Eyes to the *Norfolk Troop*. I believe you'll
" find them much ſuch Fleſh and Blood as thoſe *mer-*
" *cenary*, *corrupt* and *arbitrary* Stateſmen in thoſe
" Reigns; but until you ſee ſome *ſuch Behaviour*,
" believe me that your Compariſons are very odious.
" There is a great deal of Difference between a *Man*,
" that has been *convicted*, and *One* that has not. You
" may be fond of your *Friend*; but whatever im-
" partial Man reads the *Journals* of the *Houſe of*
" *Commons*, he will be perſuaded, as I am, that a
" certain *country Gentleman* has, once in his Life-
" time, been as *corrupt* and as *mercenary* as any, even
" of King *Charles*'s *Courtiers*."

In this virulent, ſcurrilous and inhuman Manner were theſe *excellent Perſons* treated, at that Time, for only diſſenting from the *Meaſures of the Court*, and voting with the *Minority*. We ſee the Reſentment againſt them ran ſo high, that not only *Spleen*, *Prejudice*, *Self-intereſt*, *Ambition*, *Diſappointment* and *Revenge* were laid to their Charge; but even *Breach of Truſt*, *Extortion*, *Bribery* and *notorious Corruption*; which it is obſerveable, have not been alledged or even inſinuated againſt ſome *other Gentlemen*, who have lately had the Misfortune to lie under the *former Imputations*.

I deſigned, in my next, to have laid before the Reader the Anſwers, which were made by *theſe Gentlemen* and their *Friends* to all thoſe Accuſations; but as the PRESENT STATE OF GIBRALTAR and its great IMPORTANCE to this *Iſland* ſeem to require ſome *immediate Conſiderations*, I muſt beg Leave to defer the Sequel of this Paper till *Monday* next. *D.*

Friday,

N° 33. *Friday, March* 31.

——— *bene parta tueri.*

HAving been very unjuſtly charged with *Diſaffection* to his *Majeſty*, and *ill-will* to ſome of his *Miniſters*; I am reſolved to uſe my utmoſt Endeavours to demonſtrate the contrary; for as no Time or Circumſtances ſhall ever abate that ardent *Zeal* and paſſionate Devotion, which I have always expreſs'd and exerted for the *Proteſtant Succeſſion* in the preſent Royal Family; ſo I will never withhold that juſt Tribute of Praiſe, which *Thoſe*, who have the Honour to be employ'd in the Adminiſtration, ſhall at any Time deſerve.

I cannot therefore neglect the preſent Opportunity of doing *theſe Gentlemen* Juſtice, by endeavouring to remove thoſe uneaſy Thoughts and never-ceaſing Fears, which the People of theſe Kingdoms have been obſerved to entertain for the Preſervation of GIBRALTAR; for though I cannot, upon any Account, blame the Vigilance and Jealouſy of my Countrymen, for their undoubted Rights, Privileges and Acquiſitions; yet I hope to convince them that their Apprehenſions are entirely groundleſs and imaginary.

In the preſent Scene of Affairs, the Eyes of all *Europe*, as well as of theſe Kingdoms, ſeem to be fixed, with different Views, on that *invaluable Fortreſs*; and on the Iſſue of thoſe Hoſtilities, which are now carrying on before it; for the Event of which the Heart of every honeſt *Briton* is manifeſtly alarm'd and agitated with a Variety of different Paſſions.

But

But as it is generally acknowledg'd by the beſt Judges, and has been often publickly declared, to be utterly *impregnable* in itſelf by any *outward Force*; ſo we may reſt aſſured, from the following Conſiderations, that it will never be tamely given up, either in an *open* or *clandeſtine* Manner.

For, as it was obtained by our Arms, according to the ſtricteſt Law of Nations, in open War; and yielded to us by a ſolemn Treaty of Peace; ſo has it ſince been confirm'd to us by many ſubſequent Treaties, and all the conſiderable Powers of *Europe* became Guarantees for it; nay, *Spain* itſelf, by acceeding to the *Quadruple Alliance*, became a Guarantee, and relinquiſh'd all Pretenſions to it in Virtue of any *Promiſe* that might have been given, which was *previous* to that Treaty; and indeed it is the only valuable Benefit, that we have received for all that immenſe Profuſion of Blood and Treaſure, which has intailed upon us ſuch an heavy Burthen of *Debts* and *Taxes*.

As to a late pretended *Promiſe of Reſtitution*, which the King of *Spain* inſiſts on, enough has been ſaid, by a Perſon of great Weight and Authority, to convince the World, that it was only a *miniſterial Promiſe*; and therefore not *obligatory*; but even ſuppoſing it otherwiſe, I cannot help thinking it more adviſable even to break our Word, for once, with our Neighbours, (as they have frequently done with us) than to give up a Place of the utmoſt Conſequence to this Kingdom againſt the united Voice of the whole People.

Eſpecially, if it be farther conſider'd, that as it is not probable *Spain* ſhould give us an Equivalent; ſo the vigorous Defence and Preſervation of it ſeems to be the chief, if not the only Reaſon, that can make the People eaſy under thoſe extraordinary Expences, which have been already incurr'd, and will be farther incurr'd by our preſent *Miſunderſtanding* (for I

am

am not yet allowed to call it a *War*) with our Neighbours.

I hope the projected *Invaſion* and Attempt, in Favour of the *Pretender*, is now pretty well blown over; and as to the Affair of *Oſtend*, tho' the *Abolition* of that Charter is, no doubt, of ſome Conſequence to the *Eaſt-India* Company, and perhaps to the Nation; yet it cannot, upon any Account, be brought in Competition with a Place, upon which ſo much depends, not only in relation to all our beneficial *Trade* in general, but likewiſe on other Conſiderations; for however neceſſary or advantagious our *Eaſt-India* Trade may be, whilſt *other Nations* carry on a Traffick to thoſe Parts; yet I believe it will not be denied, that if all the States of *Europe* would unanimouſly agree to leave it off by conſent, it would be for the common Intereſt of them all.

Let that be as it will, the *Oſtend Company* does not ſeem to be of ſo much Importance, either to *Great-Britain* or to the *Empire* as to engage us in an expenſive War about it; and therefore I ſhould not, in the leaſt, doubt of ſeeing a ſpeedy Accommodation of that Affair, provided it were the only Matter left in Diſpute.

I cannot therefore but look on *Gibraltar* as the chief Occaſion of all our late Differences with our Neighbours; as it is the *only Point*, about which we can be *eſſentially* concerned in the impending War; and therefore it is ridiculous to ſurmiſe, that, after we have concerted ſo *prudent an Alliance*, and employ'd our *Fleets* ſo ſucceſsfully in its Defence, it will ever be ſurrender'd by *Treaty*, or given up by *Connivance*; for if That were intended, what occaſion could there be for the Formality of a *Siege*, and for ſacrificing ſo many brave Lives on both Sides to no Purpoſe? Or, what can be more monſtrous, than to imagine that, after we have made ſuch a glorious Buſtle with our *Fleets* and *Armies*, and convinced our Enemies that they

they cannot wreſt it out of our Hands by *Force*, we ſhould make a *free Gift* of ſuch an ineſtimable Jewel, and undo all the Work of above *twenty Years*, in a Fit of good Humour?

It cannot ſurely be expected that we ſhould always be the Bubbles of *Europe*, and grow ſuch proverbial Tools in *Negotiation* as conſtantly to loſe in the *Cabinet*, what we gain in the *Field*, at the uſeleſs Expence of our Blood and Treaſure, and continually ſuffer by *Victory* and *Succeſs*.

No, I thank God, Experience hath taught us more Wit, and Providence hath given us more Honeſty; ſo that we have the juſteſt Reaſon, for the future, to expect that the *Britiſh* Arms will be employ'd only in the Cauſe of *Britain*; that we ſhall fight only our *own Quarrels*; defend our *own Rights*; and let our Enemies have the Glory of becoming the *heroic Dupes* and *Quixot*-Champions for the Liberties of Mankind.

With what uncommon Joy, Exultation and Triumph muſt it fill the Heart of every honeſt *Briton*, when he reflects on the royal Warmth, with which his Majeſty had the Goodneſs to recommend to his Parliament the Support of *Gibraltar*; juſtly calling it *of infinite Advantage* and *Security* to our *Trade* and *Commerce*; when he conſiders the remarkable Zeal and Vigour, which both Houſes expreſſed in their Concurrence with his Majeſty's Recommendation; and that extraordinary Spirit of Loyalty and Reſolution, which his dutiful Subjects have diſplay'd in their ADDRESSES, upon this Occaſion, from all Parts of the Kingdom; not only profeſſing their chearful Acquieſcence under thoſe Burthens, which they feel at preſent, but their Willingneſs to ſubmit to much greater; and *ſome* even to give up *all*, and ſacrifice their *Lives* and *Fortunes*, in the ſtricteſt Senſe, to the Welfare of their Country, and the Confuſion of his Majeſty's Enemies?

There

There never was a more hearty and general *Unanimity* between any Prince and both Houſes of Parliament; or between the united States of the Legiſlature, and the united Voice of the whole People, than what has diſcover'd itſelf on the preſent Occaſion.

To This let us add the * *Steadineſs* and *Fidelity* of the *preſent Miniſtry*; who are ſo far from being ſuſpected of holding any *criminal Correſpondence* with our Enemies, that, on the contrary, too much *Zeal* has been objected againſt them by ſome modern *Malignants*, who have maliciouſly inſinuated that they have brought a dangerous War upon us by uſing *unneceſſary Precautions*; and providing, in too hoſtile a Manner, againſt *Attempts*, which, it is ſaid, were *never intended*.

As we may therefore depend on the Integrity of the *preſent Adminiſtration*; ſo if any *future Miniſters* ſhould, either for *Gain*, or to keep off a *War* (which they ſhall fooliſhly draw upon themſelves, and not have the Skill to manage) be inclined to make their Peace with a RESTITUTION of this *impregnable Bulwark*, we may comfort ourſelves with this Reflection, that they will not have the Raſhneſs to do it, nor *dare* to give up a Place, which is ſo deeply rivetted in the Affections and Eſteem of the whole Nation.

Whatever *Promiſes* therefore ſome *former Miniſters* may have either made or adviſed, concerning the *Reſtitution* of this Place, we may be aſſured that *Thoſe*, at preſent in Power, will not think themſelves obliged to fulfil them; much leſs to make or adviſe any other; for they will, no doubt, have more Regard to the *Welfare* of their Country, as well as to their *own Intereſt* (which are *equally* concerned) than to encourage or even liſten to any Propoſals of that Nature.

But, farther; as the Concurrence of his Majeſty, both Houſes of Parliament, the Miniſtry, and the

* Vide *the Addreſs from* Lynn Regis.

whole Kingdom in their Opinion of its Value, will ſecure it againſt *Corruption* at Home; ſo the natural Strength of the Place, the Bravery of our Troops, and the Aſſiſtance of our powerful ALLIES, will be ſufficient to defend it Abroad; for though, perhaps, it may be the *natural Intereſt* even of our *Friends* to wiſh that Fortreſs in any other Hands; yet I will never believe but that it is their *political Intereſt* to maintain it in its preſent Poſſeſſion; and notwithſtanding the Suggeſtions of evil-minded Men, nothing ſhall induce me to entertain the leaſt Diſtruſt of their *Fidelity*; eſpecially if it be true that a *great* and *extraordinary Miniſter* did make himſelf anſwerable for the *French Faith* in a *Place*, where he could not be underſtood to triſle or prevaricate.

In This only will their *Fidelity* appear; for as we are ſenſibly concerned *only* about the Preſervation of this Place; ſo they can have no Opportunity of demonſtrating their religious Obſervation of Treaties ſo much, as by contributing their utmoſt and immediate Aſſiſtance towards raiſing the *Siege* and defeating the Attempts of our Enemies.

I have, in this Paper, purpoſely declined to enter into the Particulars of the *Importance* of *Gibraltar*, deſigning them for another Paper or two, which ſhall be publiſhed very ſpeedily, in order to animate the Zeal of my Countrymen in its Defence, and confirm them in that high Opinion of its Value, which they have ſo juſtly conceived.

In the mean time I may, I hope, take the Liberty to apply the memorable Sentence of Sir RICHARD STEELE, concerning the *Demolition of* Dunkirk, to the preſent Occaſion; ſince *the* Britiſh *Nation could not more juſtly* expect *the Demolition of* that Place, *than it now does the vigorous Defence and Preſervation of* GIBRALTAR. *D.*

N° 34. *Monday, April 3.*

Falſus honor *juvat*, *aut* mendax Infamia *terret*
Quem niſi mendacem & mendoſum ? Hor.

I Am obliged, by Promiſe, in this Paper, to lay before the Reader the *Anſwers*, which two *honourable Gentlemen*, their *Friends* and *Seconds* made, about *nine* Years ago, to the Calumnies, Aſperſions and Imputations, which ſome mercenary Writers endeavoured to fix upon them, for *reſigning* their Employments; for as I have already publiſhed an Abſtract of the *Charge*; ſo common Juſtice calls upon me to exhibit the Sum of their *Defence*; which I now proceed to do with great Pleaſure, leaving every Reader to make the proper Application.

EXTRACTS *from a Pamphlet, intitled*; Some Perſons *vindicated* againſt the Author of the DEFECTION, *&c.* and that Writer convicted of *Malice* and *Falſhood*.

By R—— W——, *Eſq*;

(Page 4.) "It ſeems to be the modern *Vice* of the "Times, and peculiar to the Diviſions of this Age, "*viz.*) That as ſoon as any Man, *for what Reaſon ſo-* "*ever*, thinks fit to *decline the Party* he was engaged "with, *that Party* endeavours to *blacken* and *aſperſe* "him; load his *Conduct* with Reproaches, and his "*Perſon* with Calumny, in the groſſeſt Manner, "without Reſpect to the *Dignity* or *Quality* of his "Per-

" Perſon, or the *Character* he has born even *among* " *themſelves*; and, which is ſtill worſe, without re- " ſpect to *Truth or Juſtice, Humanity* or *Charity*; " much leſs *Religion*.

" It often happens, and indeed 'tis natural to be- " lieve, that it is *generally*, if not *univerſally* ſo; that " this is done to ſmother the *real Cauſes* and *De- " fects* in the *Party*, from which thoſe Perſons *draw " off*; that the *Knavery*, which could not be *compli- " ed with*; the *Lengths*, which could not be *run*; and " the many *ſecret Practices*, which were *diſlik'd*, and " the *Diſlike* of which may have been the *real Cauſes* " of declining the Service they were in, might be " *concealed*.

" Gentlemen in *high Poſts* in the Government, " and in the Adminiſtration of publick Affairs, may " find themſelves *uneaſy* in their Employments, upon " many Accounts; (too many to mention here) and " may chuſe rather to *quit* their Employments, than " to ſerve in the *Manner* and with thoſe *Uneaſineſſes* " they ſuffer'd; and yet it does not follow, that they " have the *leaſt Deficiency in their* LOYALTY to " their *Prince*; who, perhaps, is not at all the *Cauſe* " of thoſe Uneaſineſſes, nor any way *party* to them; " but 'tis very hard that *Thoſe*, who *really* were the " *Cauſe*, and whoſe *Meaſures* the *Perſons declining* " choſe rather to quit the *Profits* and *Honours* of the " Service, than to comply with, ſhould be at Liberty " to *ſaddle the Offence*, given *only to thoſe Men*, upon " their MASTER; and reproach *thoſe Men* with want " of *Duty*, who really wanted only to be able to " ſerve, *without ſubmitting their Judgments* in Caſes, " which they could not think it *reaſonable*, or for " their *Maſter's Service* to comply with.

" In a Word, 'tis a *Scandal* in the higheſt Degree " unjuſtifiable, that when *Differences* may happen a- " mong the *Managers* of publick Affairs, the Perſons, " who *quit* the Service, muſt always be charged with

" *Diſloyalty* and *Diſaffection*; and, which is worſe, " with DESIGNS; which is the *new Calumny* raiſed " upon the *Perſons* now to be ſpoken of.

(Page 9) " Before I enter into the Labyrinth of " Words without Meaning, which cram'd this cla- " morous Libel, it is decent to enquire one Thing of " its Author, *viz.* whether it was *Forgetfulneſs* or a " Senſe of the *Impoſſibility* of performing it, which " was the Occaſion that, throughout his whole Book, " he has not ſo much as attempted to charge *theſe* " *Perſons* with any * *Miſmanagement* in the great *Em-* " *ployments*, which they have born the Weight of, " through the Adminiſtration of the *preſent* or *paſt* " Reign!

(Page 15.) " *Miniſters of State* have always a Right " of preſerving their *own Principles*; and a Liberty " of *adhering* to what, in their Judgment, they " think is for the *Service* of their *Country* and the *In-* " *tereſt* of the *Maſter* they ſerve; otherwiſe they were " *Slaves by Office*; and while they were impowered to " preſerve the *Rights* and *Liberties* of their *Fellow-* " *Subjects*, they were deprived of *their own*. It is " no Derogation from the *Sovereign* to ſay, that this " *Liberty* is allowed to *all* his Majeſty's Servants, " tho' they were to have the Misfortune to *differ* in " their Judgment from that of the *Sovereign himſelf*; " and our own Government is not without many *Ex-* " *amples* recent in Memory, where This has been " practiſed without any Offence; the Miniſter of " State, who has the Misfortune to differ in his Judg- " ment, having nothing to do, but with Duty and " Reſpect to *reſign* his Employment.

" Much more then is this Right and Claim their " juſt Due, when the *Perſon*, with whom they *differ*, " is not only not the *Sovereign*, but even their *Fellow-*

* *Vide* the *Craftſman*, N° 32. or the *Defection conſider'd*. Page 29, 37, 41, 46, 48, &c.

" *Servant*

" *Servant* in the Adminiſtration; and whoſe Judg-
" ment, tho' founded ever ſo well upon right Prin-
" ciples as to *Duty*, muſt be allowed to be *equally* ſub-
" ject to *Miſtake*, as that of our *own*. In this Caſe
" the *Miniſter differing* and faithfully repreſenting the
" *Reaſon* of his Judgment, may have, perhaps, no
" *Misfortune* in his Judgment, but That of being *over-*
" *ruled*; which, in *ſome Caſes*, may be *as much* a Misfor-
" tune to *his Country*, as to *himſelf*, and *more too*.

(Page 16) " Now whether this was the Caſe of the
" Perſons, whom this *Libeller* defames; or whether it
" was not; yet for the Purpoſe let me ſuppoſe it was;
" many Reaſons forbidding me entering here on the
" Specification of the Particulars. The *Libeller* is
" not aſhamed to fight under the Protection of the *pre-*
" *ſent Miniſtry*; as if no Man durſt ſuppoſe any Thing,
" how much ſoever in his *own Defence*, which might
" look like a *Reflection* that Way; but he ſhall be *dri-*
" *ven from this Cover*; for, without any *Reproach*
" upon, or *Offence* to the *preſent Miniſters of State*,
" I ſhall ſuppoſe that they may *differ* with others,
" and others from them; or that any *Miniſters of*
" *State* may *differ* in their Sentiments one from ano-
" ther; and yet may be all *equally* and *ſincerely* at-
" tached to his *Majeſty's Intereſt*, and to the *Service*
" of their *Country*; nor is there any Deſign, in what-
" ever is ſaid here, ſo much as to inſinuate that the
" *Miniſters*, from whom theſe Perſons differ'd in the
" Adminiſtration of publick Affairs, were not *ſincere-*
" *ly* embarked in the *general Intereſt*, however they
" might be of a different Opinion as to the *Means*.
" The Buſineſs here is not to accuſe any, or reflect
" upon any; but to defend *innocent* Perſons againſt *un-*
" *juſt* Accuſations and Reflections, and detect the *Ma-*
" *lice* of them. The Queſtion here is not to ſuggeſt
" that the *Miniſtry*, from whom theſe *accuſed Perſons*
" are ſaid to divide, are *Enemies* to the Intereſt of King
" GEORGE, and the Intereſt of their *Country*; but to

" make appear the Malice of *Thoſe*, who pretend that " the *others* are ſo.

(Page 26.) " It is evident, that there has not *one* " *Vote* there (*i. e. in Parliament*) gone contrary to the " *King*'s Deſires. Even That of *asking Money*, without " *a Specification of the* MANNER *of diſpoſing it*, tho' " oppoſed by *many Gentlemen*, whom *theſe Perſons* had " no Influence upon, yet paſs'd the Houſe with the " higheſt Demonſtration of *Duty* and *Confidence* to and " in his Majeſty's Prudence, and his Royal Inclinations " to do nothing but what ſhould be for the Good of " all his People.

" Why does not this *Libeller* give *one* Inſtance, " wherein the King's Affairs have been *diſtreſſed*; and " why does he not explain what he means by theſe " Men's *hazarding all*? Are the King's Affairs in a " *diſtreſſed Condition*? Or, are they not in the moſt " *flouriſhing Condition* that ever they were in; or that " ever this Nation knew the *publick Affairs* in?

(Page 29.) " Do theſe *Libellers* think that the Re- " putation of *theſe Perſons* muſt ſink under their *Ca-* " *lumny*, for the bare, ſingle Step of *diſagreeing* with " the *other Stateſmen*, whom they were embarked " with; and not perhaps concurring with their *Me-* " *thods* in Management? Muſt they be JACOBITES, " becauſe they do not conſent to King *GEORGE*'s " Buſineſs *their Way*? May not both be equally ſin- " cere in the *royal Intereſt*, tho' they cannot ſet " Horſes together in the *Forms*?

" Why does not this *Libeller* let us know what it " was that they ever did, or offered to do, that was " injurious to the *King*'s Intereſt, during the whole " Time of their Management? To tell us what *Mea-* " *ſures* they take *now*, and what *Inſtruments* they think " fit to uſe *ſince*, is to enter upon a new Argument; " in which whoever dips, muſt account alſo for the " *Uſage* they have received from a *ſcandalous*, *cla-* " *mouring Set of Men*, as well in Pamphlets, Libels,

" News-

" News-Papers and Converſation, as *elſewhere*; which " may have obliged them to act in their *own juſt De-* " *fence*, and for the effectual clearing up their *own* " *Reputation*.

(Page 30.) " The Quotation from the *Libel* inti- " mates *thoſe Perſons* getting *immenſe Sums* by his Ma- " jeſty's Bounty. If the *Libeller* had not been " known to be a Man, who never laid much Streſs " upon the *Proof* of any Thing he ſaid, or ever en- " deavoured to be recommended to the World for " his *Veracity*, he would perhaps have thought him- " ſelf obliged to have mentioned ſome of thoſe *im-* " *menſe Sums* theſe Perſons have gained; ſhew'd how " exorbitant they were; how unjuſtly gotten; and " by what Methods. He would have laid open and " expoſed the * *Corruption* of their Adminiſtration, " and the like; where have they made a *Property* of " his Majeſty's Authority, or a *Prey* of his Subjects? " Whoſe *Ox*, or whoſe *Aſs* have *they* taken? Who " complains of *their* Exactions; *their* Extortions; " *their* Delays; or *their* Injuſtice?

EXTRACTS from a Pamphlet intitled, *The Defection detected, or Faults laid on the right Side.*

(Pag. 4.) " To accuſe *Gentlemen*, who are irre- " proachable for *Loyalty* and *Conduct*, of Want of " both; to arraign them them for *Ingratitude* and " *Treachery*; to inſult them with odious *Miſrepre-* " *ſentations*, are Actions ſo flagrant and offenſive to " good Manners, that (let the *Quality* of the Per- " ſon ſo doing, or ſo encouraging to be done, be ne- " ver ſo great or conſpicuous) the Injuſtice of ſo cri- " minal a Demeanor calls loudly for the Animadver-

* *Vide* the *Craftſman* and *Defection* as directed before; or a Pamphlet intitled, *An Anſwer* to the Character and Conduct of R---- W----, Eſq; &c.

" ſion

" ſion of ſuch, as have any Regard for *unſullied* Re-
" putations and *unblameable* Characters.

(Page 17.) " When they were in *Place*, how were
" they not careſſed and adored! Now they are *out of*
" *Employment*, how not derided and vilified! As if
" *Reaſon*, *Eloquence* and *Merit* were annexed to an
" *Office*; and thoſe Excellencies of Precaution and Ma-
" nagement, that made them the Objects of the
" *Whigs* Admiration and Eſteem *before*, had no longer
" Duration than their Abode in *COURTS*. As if
" to be diſſatisfy'd with *ſome Mens* Proceedings was
" to act in Diſobligation of all the *whole Party*; and
" to refuſe an implicit Aſſent to *ſome* of their *Fellow-*
" *ſervants* Schemes was to act in Contempt of their
" *Maſter's*."

EXTRACTS from a Pamphlet intitled, *The Reſigners Vindicated*; *Part* I.

(Page 6.) " If the Caſe of the Duke of *Northum-*
" *berland* can bear any Parallel, I deſire him to apply
" his *Inſolence*, *Covetouſneſs* and *Ambition* in the right
" Place. I am ſure, *He* has a leſs Title to it, who
" attempts to ſhine but in *one Capacity*, than *They*,
" who would make us believe they have a Genius for
" *half a Dozen different Employments*.

(Page 8.) " ——One would imagine there was
" ſomething like Magick in *Places* and *Preferments*.
" A Man no ſooner ſteps into them, but he has all the
" Perfections of a little *Divinity*; and he is no ſooner
" *out*, but the Charm is undone, and he becomes the
" moſt *diſagreeable* and *infamous* of Mankind.

" While Mr. *W———le* was at the Head of the
" *T——y*, the Encomiums of ſome Men ran ſo high
" upon his Adminiſtration, that the *Cecil's*, *Godol-*
" *phin's*, and *Halifax's* were thought little, in reſpect
" of his ſuperior Merit. The *Whigs* were ſo charm-
" ed with him, that hardly any Thing was conduct-

" ed

" ed without conſulting him as an Oracle. His ad-
" mirable Addreſs in the Affairs of the Houſe; his
" maſterly Eloquence and nervous Reaſoning were the
" Subjects of all Converſation. Now theſe very Per-
" ſons think his Oratory *calm* and *lifeleſs* as a cer-
" tain *great Man*'s Prayers; his Wit and his Argu-
" ment have loſt all their Force; and even common
" Senſe left him, the Minute he left his Places. Thus
" we ſee that *Senſe* and *Integrity* are merely *topical*,
" and a Man muſt act within the Compaſs of a pre-
" ſcrib'd Circle, or he runs a Riſque of forfeiting his
" *Underſtanding* or his *Morals*.

(Page 9) " ——How This can be called a *criminal*
" *Conſpiracy*, I cannot underſtand; unleſs all *Reſig-*
" *nation* implies *Guilt*, in the ſame Manner as he
" makes all *Continuance in Place* to imply *Merit*. An
" *honeſt Man* may be diſſatisfied. He may think it
" improper to act in particular Conjunctions, without
" incurring the Cenſure of any Body; and who can
" doubt, but that he has good Reaſons, as the World
" goes, when he ſacrifices his *Intereſt* to his *Opinion*?
" ——It is *unjuſt* and *uncharitable* to attribute an
" Action of ſuch Conſequence to *Pet*, *Whim*, *Hu-*
" *mour* and *Paſſion*; and He knows little of the
" World, who imagines *Theſe* carry ſuch a Sway
" with Men of a *ſedate* Temper; and it ſhews that
" the Writer was put to *poor Shifts*, when he was
" forced to read us ſuch *falſe Ethicks* for a Reaſon.

(Page 18) " ——— They muſt be but ill read
" in human Nature, who can encourage ſuch un-
" worthy Uſage of *One*, whoſe *former Merit* they ac-
" knowledge; ſuch Liberties frequently *returning*, *in*
" *a double Proportion*, on the Heads of the *Revilers*.
" *Lipſius* has a fine Obſervation on this Occaſion.
" *Qui Libellos famoſos in* lapſam Dignitatem *edunt*,
" ſibimetipſis *ſupplicia parant*; *multa quoniam neceſſe*
" *eſt eſſe ficta*; *multa in pejus detorta*; *plurima, quæ*
" *ad Rem erant, oblita. Occaſio inde* Læſo *data eſt*
contu-

" *contumeliam fortiter* repellendi; & *etiam quæ vera*
" *ſunt ex fictorum Refutatione minuendi; quid quod*
" *idem acrius* Lædentis *vitia intuetur, undequaque op-*
" *probria* retorquenda *colligit*, & replicaturus *Cautio-*
" *nem Accuſationis vi commiſcet.*

In this ample, learned and rational Manner were thoſe *honourable Reſigners* vindicated from the vile Aſperſions and moſt unjuſt Imputations of their Adverſaries. Whether the ſame Arguments may not be applied in behalf of *ſome Gentlemen* at preſent (who have been loaded with the ſame Imputations; *Bribery*, *Extortion* and *Corruption* excepted) let the Reader determine; but as it might be expected that I ſhould ſay ſomething on this Head, which has been ſo much inſiſted on, I thought proper to treat it in this Manner; for though I am ſenſible that ſuch *perſonal Altercations* are foreign to the Merits of the Cauſe; yet *Argumenta ad Hominem* have always been allow'd; and where *Objections* are merely *perſonal*, a well-grounded *Recrimination* is a ſufficient Anſwer.

I ſhall now proceed in my general Deſign, and not ſuffer myſelf to be diverted by any Objections, which are not more *conſiderable*, or have ſome Relation to the Subject in Debate. *D.*

Friday,

N° 35. *Friday, April 7.*

THE Port and Town of *Gibraltar* being become the Subject of moſt Converſation, and its Preſervation the Object of every honeſt Man's Hopes and Wiſhes; the great Conſequence of it to this Kingdom never more juſtly deſerved our Attention than at this Time, if conſider'd only in *two* Points; *firſt*, as it preſerves to us the Conveniency, Protection and Security of our Trade to the *Streights*, above That of all other Nations; more eſpecially in Regard to the *Algerines* and *Sallee-men*, who are influenced by it to continue their *Treaties* made with us; which they never do longer with any other Nation than till they find it their Intereſt to break them; *Secondly*, in reſpect to the great Advantage, which the Poſſeſſion of that Place hath already given us, when in War with *France* and *Spain*; and conſequently will always give us again upon the like Occaſions, whilſt we continue to keep it.

Firſt, in reſpect to our *Trade*; for as it commands the Paſſage or Entrance of all our Navigation into the *Mediteranean*, both in Peace and War; ſo it is equally neceſſary, and as much our Intereſt to keep it ourſelves, as it is for any Gentleman to keep Poſſeſſion of the Gate, which leads to his own Houſe; it being in the Power of Thoſe, who poſſeſs this Port, at all Times to interrupt, annoy, or hinder whom they ſhall think fit in their Trade, by keeping only *two* or *three* Ships of War conſtantly on that Station; in the ſame Manner almoſt as the *Danes*, by the Poſſeſſion of *Elſineur*, com-

command the Paſſage into, and out of the *Baltick*; ſo that if this Port were in the Hands of any other Nation, it would be in their Power likewiſe either to permit us to navigate or trade within the *Streights* or not, as they ſhould think fit; unleſs a very ſtrong Squadron were conſtantly kept at the Entrance of the *Streights-Mouth* to ſecure the Paſſage, and to be relieved from Time to Time by freſh Ships; which would put us to a much greater Expence than we are now at, in keeping the Place in Diſpute.

Before *England* was in Poſſeſſion of *Tangier*, on the oppoſite Side of the *Streights*, we were never able to deal with the *Algerines* and other *Turkiſh Rovers*; who, for near a hundred Years, had carried on a *ſucceſsful piratick War* againſt the Commerce of this Nation, and never could be reduced; till, by the Situation and our Poſſeſſion of the above mention'd Place, we diſtreſſed them ſo much, not only by taking their Ships going in and coming out of the *Streights*, but alſo by retaking ſuch of their Prizes, as they had taken in the Ocean, that at laſt they were forced to be content with ſuch a Peace as we would give them; the Continuance of which is now owing to nothing ſo much as to our having been, for many Years paſt and at preſent, in the ſame Condition to chaſtiſe thoſe *Rovers*, by the Poſſeſſion of *Gibraltar*, as we were before by the Poſſeſſion of *Tangier*.

The Security of our *Italian*, *Turkey*, and *Fiſh* Trades intirely depends on our Poſſeſſion of this Place; and ſhould we ever loſe it, or part with it, it is very reaſonable to believe that both the *Algerines* and *Salleemen* would ſoon break with us again; ſo that, in ſuch a Caſe, the aboveſaid Branches of Trade would almoſt wholly fall into the Hands of our Rivals the *French* from *Marſeilles*; who, by their Situation, are always ready at Hand to furniſh thoſe Markets, as ſoon as they are in Want; while we, on our Part, ſhall be obliged to carry on that Trade by the tedious Methods of

Fleets

Fleets and *Convoys*; and, at laſt, perhaps, come long after the Market is ſupplied by our *Rivals*. Beſides all This, the Article of *Inſurance*, which would certainly run much higher than uſual under theſe Circumſtances, would prove a heavy Charge on our Goods, more than on Thoſe of other Traders, which would thereby very much affect thoſe Branches of our Trade and Navigation.

Nay, the Miſchief would not ſtop here; for as the *Algerines*, of late Years, cruiſe in Summer Time at the Mouth of our Channel (where they lately took a very rich *Oſtend East-India* Ship) and as ſome of them have alſo come into our very Ports two or three Years ſucceſſively; ſo it is poſſible, that if we ſhould loſe *Gibraltar*, they may become, being ſo well acquainted with our Channel, a much more dangerous Enemy to us, than ever they were formerly: and may attack all our Trade in general, as the *St. Maria* Privateers did in the late Wars, whenever they ſhall find that they can carry home their Prizes without Interruption; which is not to be done, unleſs we ſhould be diſpoſſeſſed of *Gibraltar*, and thereby take the Bridle, which had hitherto reſtrained them, out of their Mouths.

Secondly, in Reſpect to our Neighbours; *Gibraltar* is ſituated in ſuch a Manner, that it is in the Power of the preſent Poſſeſſors to cut off any naval Communication, between one Port and another, of each of thoſe *two very powerful Kingdoms*, with which we have had ſuch frequent Occaſions to be at War for almoſt theſe forty Years paſt; who would ſoon turn the Tables upon us, if they ſhould recover this Place out of our Hands; eſpecially in Times of any Rupture between us; nothing being more ſelf-evident than that it gives to Thoſe, who are Maſters of it, the Sovereignty and Command of the Commerce and Navigation of the *Mediteranean* Sea, and makes it impracticable for any other Nation to trade there, without

their Leave. And farther, by our Poſſeſſion of this Place, all Nations within the *Mediterranean* will be obliged to court our Friendſhip, or fear our Power; particularly the *Pyratick States*; who, beholding Vengeance ſo near at Hand, will be thereby deterred from attempting to interrupt our Trade, while they are deſtroying that of all others.

Neither is this Advantage all that we reap from the Poſſeſſion of *Gibraltar*; for it hath put into our Hands almoſt all the *Freight-Trade* into the *Mediterranean* for many Years paſt; eſpecially That of the *Hamburghers* and *Hollanders*, who have made uſe of *Britiſh* Bottoms only, to carry on their Commerce in thoſe Seas, till very lately; when the *Dutch* obtained a Peace with the *Algerines*, as it is ſaid *by our Means*; whereby we are likely to loſe one of the greateſt Advantages at preſent belonging tothe Navigation of *Great-Britain*; which we before enjoyed, whilſt thoſe Merchants made uſe of *Engliſh* Ships, finding it dangerous to venture their Eſtates in any other.

But laying aſide all other Conſiderations, there cannot be a ſtronger Proof of the Importance, which the Poſſeſſion of this Place hath been to us, than that it hath in a Manner deſtroyed the naval Power of *France* from the Hour of our taking it to the Concluſion of the ſecond *French War*; nor indeed could they ever ſend any naval Stores round about into thoſe Seas, without an apparent Danger of their falling into our Hands, in going through the *Streights*; ſo that the greateſt Part of their Fleet hath become uſeleſs ever ſince, and never appeared at Sea again, but lay rotting in their Harbours.

It would be needleſs to inforce this Argument with many other Inſtances, which might be given of the Advantage of this Port; but it muſt not be forgot that its Promixity to *Cadiz*, the great Mart and Centre of almoſt all the Riches of *America*, gives us the greateſt Opportunity of commanding that Port, and

the

and the Trade frequenting it from the *Weſt-Indies*; which, in Time of War with *Spain*, may be reckoned of no ſmall Conſideration or Importance.

Whether therefore we look on *Gibraltar* either in a *mercantile* or a *political* Light; *firſt*, as it not only ſecures all our own Commerce to *Italy*, *Africa*, and the *Levant*, from the Inſults and Annoyance of thoſe terrible Enemies the *Algerines* and other *Turkiſh Rovers*; but alſo helps us to the *Carriage-Trade* of ſeveral other Nations; or, *ſecondly*, as it cuts off all Communication between the Ports of our moſt formidable Rivals, and thereby renders their naval Force very precarious and inconſiderable; the Poſſeſſion of this Place ſeems to be of ſuch Importance, that I am at a Loſs to gueſs what *Equivalent* could be given us for it. I am ſure, at leaſt, that any one of the foregoing Conſiderations, taken ſingly, would more than over-balance all the Expence, which the Nation at preſent feels on that Account.

But once more, and to conclude. As the Advantages of *Gibraltar*, which reſult to this Kingdom from the foregoing Particulars, are fully confirm'd and demonſtrated by the Experience of many Years paſt; ſo the Preſervation of it, at this Time, is of much *greater Importance* than it ever was before, as will appear by conſidering the preſent State of Affairs; that *Manufactures* are ſpringing up in moſt Parts of *Europe*; and that ſeveral powerful States are endeavouring to vye with us in *Commerce* and a *Maritime Force*; which ought to put us on the ſtricteſt Guard, and determine us not to part with a Place, which is manifeſtly of ſo much Advantage, by ſecuring and improving our own Trade and Navigation; as well as by defeating the Attempts of our *Enemies* and *Rivals*.

O

N° 36 *Monday, April* 10. 1727.

Quorum id Perfidiâ *et* Perjurio *fiat, Deos nunc* Teſtes *eſſe, mox fore* Ultores. LIV.

AS there are no Doctrines or Tenets, however ridiculous or abſurd, which have not obtain'd ſome Favourers and Proſelites; ſo there never were any Actions, however vile or impolitick, which have not been coloured over by deſigning Men (the Managers and Conducters of them) with plauſible Pretences and artful Repreſentations. *Dunkirk* was not ſold to the *French*, nor *Tangier* demoliſh'd, in the Reign of King *Charles* II, without ſome ſpecious Reaſons, beſides that prevailing one of *Money*, to juſtify thoſe Meaſures, and impoſe on the Publick; and though the Folly and Wickedneſs of thoſe Actions have been ſince fully condemned by all Men of Senſe as well as Hiſtorians; and the Effects of them (eſpecially of the vile Bargain for *Dunkirk*) were ſeverely felt in our late Wars with *France* and *Spain*; yet it cannot be forgot what Intereſt was uſed, in the laſt Reign, to reſcue it from that juſt Sentence of Deſtruction, which was paſſed upon it by the Treaty of *Utrecht*; and though perhaps the ſame Kind of Arguments, which procured the *Sale* of this Place in the *former Reign*, were employed to prevent its *Demolition* in the *latter*; yet it is evident that they had not the ſame Weight with the *Queen* and her *Miniſtry*. When-

Whenever, therefore, I look back on theſe Tranſactions, I can eaſily account for any Objections, that I meet with in Converſation, againſt the Importance of *Gibraltar*, or any Reaſons that I hear urged for its *Reſtitution*; which, by reflecting on paſt Occurrences, do not ſo much raiſe my Aſtoniſhment, as they provoke my Indignation.

But as I have, in my laſt Paper, given the Reader a ſhort and plain Sketch of the Advantages, which we receive from this Place; ſo it cannot be improper to examine the Objections againſt it; which we ſhall find to be juſt the ſame, that were formerly made Uſe of againſt our Poſſeſſion of *Dunkirk* and *Tangier*.

In the firſt Place, it is ſaid, by ſome ignorant and unthinking Perſons, that the Poſſeſſion of this Place puts the Nation, every Year, to a greater *Expence* than it is worth. In Anſwer to This, it is ſufficient to obſerve that the whole Charge of maintaining it, in Times of *Peace*, does not amount to much above *fifty Thouſand Pounds* a Year; which is no great Article in *ſeven* or *eight Millions*, that are uſually raiſed for the *current Expences* of the Government, and the *Intereſt of the Debts*; and might eaſily be ſaved by cutting off only *nine* or *ten uſeleſs Penſions*; or ſome other *unneceſſary Burthens*.

As to its Expence in Time of *War*, I think I have ſaid enough in my former Paper to prove, from the Importance of it, that let it be what it will, it cannot be more than it is really worth; and if ſo, how ridiculous and unreaſonable would any Parſimony be, in this Caſe? Have we not, for thirty or forty Years paſt, made War at the Expence of *Hundreds of Millions*, and loſt *half a Million* of Men, to obtain Kingdoms, Principalities and Dominions for *other Princes*; and ſhall we now think much of a neceſſary Expence for maintaining and defending our *own juſt Right* and *Property* againſt Thoſe, for whoſe Sake

we have laviſhed away ſuch immenſe Sums in a voluntary Manner?

An ingenious Writer on this Subject makes the following Obſervation, concerning the Charge of maintaining *Gibraltar*, and ſuch Objections againſt it.

——— "Strange and ſurprizing Inſtance of our *new* "*Frugality* and *good Husbandry!* that we, who for "thirty Years together, have rioted in Millions; "and, 'till Heaven bleſſed us with the *preſent Miniſtry*, never minded what we gave; nor to whom; "we, who drained the Exchequer, and mortgaged "the Nation, ſhould now, from a Principle of "*Saving*, ſacrifice the ſole Fruit of all our Expences, "to prevent a Charge, which is but equal to That "of a few *uſeleſs Penſions!* Thank Heaven, from "laviſhing Millions, we are grown thrifty in *Pounds*, "*Shillings* and *Pence*.

However, this Evil might, long ago, have been remedied, and may ſtill be remedied, by the Probity and good Management of the *preſent Miniſters*; for it is generally believed that if the Place in Diſpute had been declared a *free Port*, like *Leghorn*, on our firſt Poſſeſſion of it, being full as commodious as that for Trade; and if a *civil Government* had been eſtabliſhed there, inſtead of a *military One*; it would long ſince have maintained itſelf by a moderate Duty on all Goods imported and exported; and would thereby have deprived the neighbouring Ports of *Spain* of great Part of their Trade; by which Means there would have been no Complaint of its preſent Charge; but, on the contrary, the Profits made by its Governors, added to the other Advantages of a *free Port*, would, in all Probability, have been more than ſufficient to have eaſed the Government at home of that Burthen.

But if, for want of ſuch a Regulation, theſe and the like Arguments ſhall be eſteemed valid, and it ſhould be thought adviſeable to give up this *important*

portant Place, in order to avoid *Expence*; the next Demand, perhaps, which the *Spaniard* will make on us, will be to ſurrender our Colonies in the *Weſt Indies*; then *Plymouth*, *Portſmouth*, and ſo on; with which it would be equally reaſonable to comply, becauſe we ſhould be at a great Expence to defend them againſt their Attempts; and thus we may continue giving one Thing after another, till we become the Scorn and Contempt of the whole World.

It is ſaid farther, that even ſuppoſing the *Spaniards* ſhould take this Place, or it ſhould be delivered up to them, we might ſtill expect to have the Advantage of the Port and Harbour upon all Occaſions. This is juſt as reaſonable, as it would be for a Man to part with his Coat off his Back, or his Sword from his Side, in order to borrow them, or beg the Uſe of them, when he ſtands in need; and, in all Probability, will meet with a Denial.

Another Objection is, that the *Spaniards* will never be eaſy whilſt *Gibraltar* is in our Hands; and therefore it is neceſſary to part with it, in order to procure a Peace, and ſettle the Tranquility of *Europe*. I have before obſerved (and indeed the whole Kingdom has obſerved it in their *Addreſſes*) that this Place has been yielded to us by ſolemn Treaties, as well as acquired in lawful War; and that the King of *Spain*, by acceding to the *Quadruple* Alliance, renounced all Claim to it, whether by *Promiſe* or otherwiſe, which was *previous* to that Treaty. But ſuppoſing it true, that the King of *Spain* will not be contented without it; muſt *Peace*, as well as *War*, be always negotiated at *our Expence*, and muſt *our Intereſt* always be ſacrificed to the Tranquility of *Europe*? It is well known that, in the Reign of King *Charles* II. the *Spaniards* demanded the Reſtitution of *Jamaica* with as much Importunity as they now demand That of *Gibraltar*; yet by obſtinate Refuſals (even in that Reign, which was none of

of the beſt) and long Poſſeſſion, we ſeem to have ſilenced them on that Head; as I doubt not we might ſoon do on the other, by the Exerciſe of a little publick Virtue and Conſtancy to our Country.

The ſame ingenious Author, before cited, has a very juſt Remark on this Occaſion.

" Has any *Engliſh Miniſtry*, ſays he, ever pre-
" ſumed to propoſe to the King, to deliver up the
" Dutchies of *Bremen* and *Verbden*, in order to
" procure a Peace in the North; to ſettle the ſo
" much deſired Balance of Power there; and to
" prevent the Charge to *England* of ſending out
" annual Fleets at a very great Expence? And yet,
" it is ſaid, his Majeſty, before the laſt Treaty with
" *Sweden*, pretended no Title to thoſe Countries,
" but a Mortgage from a Prince, who had no other
" himſelf but Conqueſt. And dares any one pro-
" poſe to a *Britiſh King* the delivering, to a baffled
" and ſubdued Enemy, the moſt important Place in
" the World to the Trade and naval Empire of
" *England*; the Key of the *Mediterranean*; the
" Terror of our Enemies; and the beſt Pledge of
" our *new Friendſhips*; and This too, after we have
" an undoubted Title to it; to which *thoſe Nations*
" are Guarantees, who have the *greateſt Intereſt* to
" wreſt it out of our Hands?

Indeed; ſome Men have been ſo weak as to make This an Argument for its Reſtitution. We muſt, ſay they, conſent to deliver it up, becauſe even our *Friends* and *Allies* join with our *Enemies* in this Demand. " I confeſs, *ſays the ſame Author*, there
" are many *Reaſons* why *They* ſhould deſire it;
" (*particularly the* French) but they are *unanſwerable*
" *Reaſons* too, why *we* ſhould hear ſuch a Propo-
" ſition with Horror.

I muſt beg Leave to quote one more Paſſage from this Writer.——" God has now ſent us a *Miniſtry*.
" who will mend all thoſe Faults, which They were

the

" the firſt to *condemn*. The Intereſt of the Publick is " their Intereſt. They have no *ſecret Purpoſes* to " ſerve by *dark* and *ſhameful Treaties*.—In fine, they " have no *deſperate Game* to play, to defend them " from the Effects of *deſperate Meaſures*; nor have " they, like the others, been trepann'd and out-wit- " ted by *France*; nor have any ungenerous Advantages " been taken of their *Credulity*, when they had *en-* " *gaged* Themſelves and their Country *beyond Re-* " *treat*.

Upon the whole, we may reſt aſſured, that this *important Fortreſs* (the Strength and Glory of *Great Britain*) will never be given up either by a *publick* or *private Treaty*, upon any Conſideration whatſoever; but we may conclude with the Gentlemen of *Hertfordſhire*, that, " whatever the *Enemies to our* " *Peace* may conceive from the intriguing Schemes " of their *ſelfiſh, enterprizing Politicians*, we doubt " not but that good Providence, which ſo ſignally " protects his Majeſty and theſe Kingdoms, will *abate* " *their Pride* and *confound their Devices*. D

Friday, April 7.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, *Eſq;*

SIR,

THough I frequently employ my Thoughts for the Service of my Country, yet I know no Way of communicating my *Projects* to the World, unleſs you will be pleaſed to take them into your Protection, and recommend them to the Publick.

The common Subject of all Converſation, and the beaten Topick of moſt Pamphlets, at preſent, is that abominable *Corruption*, which is ſaid to prevail in almoſt all *Aſſemblies*. Whether This be really true, or whether it is only Matter of popular Clamour, I cannot take upon me to determine; but let it be which it

it will, I think I have found out a *certain* and *infallible Remedy* for it. I cannot indeed ſay that it will immediately remove the *Evil*; but I am confident that it will deſtroy all the *bad Effects* that may proceed from it.

What I would propoſe, Sir, is, that every Perſon, who ſhall be hereafter known to *vote*, on any Occaſion, for a *Bribe*, *Gratuity*, or *Penſion*, or ſhall be under any other *pecuniary Influence*, ſhould be diſtinguiſhed, as all other Animals are, that are *vendible*, by ſome outward and viſible Token; and as you may know an *Horſe*, that is to be *ſold*, by a Piece of *colour'd Riband* on the Bridle; or as the *Courtezans*, in ſome Countries abroad, are obliged to wear an Habit different from modeſt Women; ſo I would have all *corrupt Perſons*, who proſtitute their Voices for Hire, be obliged to wear a *Knot of Ribands* under their left Ear; that all People might know them as they walk along the Street. This *Ear-mark*, for aught I know, may be the only Way to make Mankind aſhamed of *Corruption*, and will certainly have this good Effect at leaſt, that it will ſoon deſtroy all thoſe fooliſh *Party* Notions of *Whig* and *Tory*, which have ſo long made Diſtinctions amongſt us, and kept honeſt Men, on both Sides, from diſcovering that they meant, in Truth, the *ſame Thing*, however they might differ in their *party Denominations*.——— Happy will it be for this Kingdom, when there ſhall be no other Diſtinction prevailing amongſt us, but That of the KNOTTISTS and ANTI-KNOTTISTS!

Before I reſolved to ſend you this *Propoſal*, I communicated it to a Friend of mine, who is a *dry Joker*, and a great Lover of a *Pun*. He told me that he knew, in this Kingdom, a Set of as *knotty-headed* Fellows as any in Chriſtendom; but I, who am a grave Man my ſelf, reproved him for ſuch a ludicrous Conceit; and told him that he ought not to turn ſerious Things into Ridicule.

I leave

I leave it, Sir, to your Judgment, whether it will be proper to extend this Regulation to the *Clergy*; becauſe, perhaps, it may, HEREAFTER, be an indecent Sight to ſee a whole Bench of B——s dreſſed out in a Set of *new Knots* alamode *des Meſdemoiſelles Francoiſes*.

I am, Sir, with profound Reſpect,
Yours,

JOHN ENGLISH.

N. B. Theſe new-invented *Court Ear-knots* for *Penſioners* and *Hirelings* will be expoſed to Sale, on *Wedneſday* next, in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, the *Court of Requeſts*, *Arlington-Street*, and at moſt other publick Places about Town; where Gentlemen may be accommodated with them, from Time to Time, made after the neweſt Faſhion, and at reaſonable Rates

C

N° 37, *Friday*, *April* 14. 1727.

AS every Government has undoubtedly a Right to defend itſelf; and ſince the wiſeſt *written* Laws cannot effectually provide for its Safety againſt all Emergencies; ſo it muſt be endowed with an abſolute unlimitted Power, upon all extraordinary Occaſions and unforeſeen Events; for without ſuch a reſerved Power, every Government will be continually in Danger of being overturn'd by the ſubtle Machinations of powerful and ill-deſigning Men. But, on the other Hand, this *extraordinary Power* ought never to be exerted but upon *extraordinary Occaſions*, in Times of real Danger and in Caſes of the utmoſt

moſt Extremity; for, if it ſhould come to be proſtituted and hackney'd about upon every little Job and pretended Occaſion, the Eſſence of a free State will be entirely loſt, and this great *extraordinary Power* will be turned to the Deſtruction of the People, which it was deſigned to prevent. Indeed the the only Difference between a *deſpotick* and a *free Government* conſiſts in This; that an arbitrary Governor has no Law but his Will, and therefore always acts by an *unlimited, extraordinary Authority*; whereas, the Governor of a free People has Rules preſcribed to him for his Conduct, and is limited by *Laws* in the ordinary Courſe of his Government; and therefore never acts in an abſolute, unlimited Manner, but when, upon *extraordinary Occaſions*, the People think fit to intruſt him with ſuch a Power. Thus the *Roman Dictators* were never created but on the greateſt Emergencies; inveſted with an abſolute Authority in all Affairs, both civil and military; till the Occaſion, on which they were created, ceaſed, and the Danger was over. This Power, whilſt it continued only *temporary*, was the real Security of the State; and, upon ſeveral Occaſions, preſerved it from Ruin; but when once it became *ordinary*, and the *Dictator* made himſelf *perpetual*, it immediately ſwallowed up the Liberties of that glorious People; and the *Roman* Commonwealth relapſed into its antient Tyranny and Servitude.

In *England*, we frequently exerciſe this *extraordinary Power*, in Oppoſition to the *ordinary* Form of our Government; ſometimes, by taking off the legal Reſtraint upon our Kings, and inveſting them with a Sort of *Dictatorial* Authority; as in the Suſpenſion of the *Habeas Corpus* Act, in Times of a Conſpiracy, Rebellion, or imminent Danger. Sometimes the Legiſlature exerciſes this Power itſelf (as it undoubtedly has a Right to do) by *Attainders*, or *Bills of Pains and Penal-*

ties, ex poſt facto; but it has never yet been exerciſed, and I hope never will, but upon great and extraordinary Emergencies.

There is another Power of this Nature, which our Princes, or Miniſters, by their Authority, exerciſe upon the like Occaſions, *viz.* That of *opening* and *reading Letters at the* POST-OFFICE; which I ſuppoſe to be one of the antient *Prerogatives* of the Crown; becauſe I never heard of any *Statute-Law* to this Purpoſe; for the Act *Nono Annæ*, intitled An Act for eſtabliſhing a *general Poſt-Office* for all her Majeſty's Dominions, ſeems rather to allow of it, under ſome *Reſtrictions*, as a *prior Right* inherent in the Crown, than to *create* and *enact* ſuch a Power; as will appear by the following Clauſe.

" And whereas Abuſes may be committed by wil-
" fully opening, imbezzeling, detaining and delaying
" Letters or Packets, to the great Diſcouragement of
" *Trade, Commerce* and *Correſpondence*; for Preven-
" tion thereof, be it enacted by the Authority afore-
" ſaid, that from and after the ſaid firſt Day of *June*
" one thouſand ſeven hundred and eleven, no Perſon
" or Perſons ſhall preſume willingly, or knowingly,
" to open, detain or delay, or cauſe to procure, per-
" mit, or ſuffer to be opened, detained, or delayed,
" any Letter or Letters, Packet or Packets, after the
" ſame is or ſhall be delivered into the general, or
" other, Poſt-Office, or into the Hands of any Per-
" ſon or Perſons employed for the receiving or car-
" rying Poſt-Letters, and before Delivery to the Per-
" ſons to whom they are directed, or for their Uſe;
" EXCEPT by an *expreſs Warrant* in writing, under
" the Hand of one of the principal Secretaries of
" State, for every ſuch opening, detaining or delay-
" ing, *&c.*

But as the Exerciſe of this *extraordinary* Power from whenceſoever originally derived, or howſoever

authorized, (whether by any former *Prerogative*, or by the Power in *this Clauſe*) has never been publickly examin'd, I hope a few Obſervations on that Head will not be thought impertinent or diſagreeable.

It is agreed on all Hands that, amongſt *private Perſons*, nothing ought to be held more inviolable than the Communication of our Thoughts by a mutual Intercourſe of *Letters*. The tender Concerns and reciprocal Endearments of Lovers; the unguarded Intelligence of intimate Friends; the Myſteries of Tradeſmen and Mechanicks; the Negotiations, Contracts and Engagements of mercantile Perſons; the Views, Expectations and Purſuits of Some; the Misfortunes and Neceſſities of Others; and the Secrets of Families in general, of whatſoever Kind, which are conveyed in an epiſtolary Manner, are Things of ſo ſacred a Nature, that, in all civiliz'd Countries, it has been eſteem'd highly ſcandalous to ſatisfy our Curioſity at another's Expence. A Man of *true Honour* will as ſoon break open a Lock as a Letter, which does not belong to him; and pick his Neighbour's Pocket, as ſoon as diſcover his *Nakedneſs* in this Reſpect; for a *Letter*, being the Repreſentative of the Perſon's Heart, who ſends it, ought to paſs, without Examination or Interruption, to the Hand, to which it is directed; ſince, otherwiſe, this *Convenience* will be of little Uſe to Mankind, who would no more communicate their Thoughts, in a free Manner, upon many Topicks, than they would talk upon them in publick Company. When a Man therefore has ſet down his Thoughts upon a Piece of Paper, and put his Signet upon it, he ought to be as ſafe as if he was privately talking to his Friend in his Cloſet; and I cannot help thinking that Man a worſe Kind of *Eves-dropper*, who breaks into this ſecret Cabinet, than one, who skulks under my Window, or liſtens thro' the Key-hole.

What

What I have hitherto ſaid relates only to *private Perſons*; who cannot, upon any Account whatſoever, be juſtified in their Violation of theſe Secrets; but it muſt not be applied to the *Publick*; which being inveſted, as I before obſerved, with a ſufficient Power to defend itſelf, in Times of Danger or Suſpicion, cannot be reſtrained, in the Exerciſe of its Authority, by little Punctilio's of *Honour*, or the Niceties of *good Breeding*; for as *the Welfare of the People is the ſupreme Law*, all private Conſiderations whatſoever muſt give Place, and be ſacrificed to that good End.

Whenever therefore the Government receives Intelligence of any ſecret and dangerous Tranſactions, which are carrying on either at home or abroad; or entertains any well-grounded Suſpicion of that Nature, it is not only juſtifiable, but their Duty to examine the *Mails*; and to uſe all other prudent Precautions, in order to diſcover and defeat the Deſigns of their Enemies. Then is their Time to exert this *extraordinary Authority*; in which they ſeem to act under the ſame wholſome Commiſſion with that of an old *Roman Dictator*, *nequid detrimenti Reſpublica capiat*.

Indeed this Practice of *examining the publick Correſpondence*, in Times of Danger, is ſo well known; and ſo many wicked *Plots* and *Conſpiracies* have been diſcovered in this Manner, that it is very unaccountable how Men, who are engaged in ſuch hazardous Deſigns, can be ſo weak as to carry on their Correſpondence in a Way, which is ſo open and liable to detection; eſpecially ſince the Art of *decyphering* is arrived to that Perfection; which renders it almoſt impoſſible for them to deceive the Enquiry of the Government by any Sort of Figures or Characters; nay, ſuppoſing that they could find out a Method of writing, which would puzzle the moſt skilful Adepts in this Art; yet ſuch a dark and unintelligile Correſpondence would raiſe a ſufficient Alarm to make a

wiſe Miniſtry ſet all their Emiſſaries and Engines at Work, and would thereby have almoſt the ſame Effect, as if their Meaning were really unriddled.

However, ſince it is notorious that ſome Perſons, even very lately, have been ſo audacious, or infatuated, as to tranſact their deteſtable Deſigns in this Manner, it well becomes the Care of a vigilant Adminiſtration, to make uſe of this Authority, whenever there is any *juſt* and *well-grounded Occaſion* for ſo doing.

But herein conſiſts the Difference between our happy Conſtitution in *England*, and ſeveral arbritary Governments abroad; that this Power is never exerciſed, amongſt us, but when there is a *real Occaſion*, and it becomes neceſſary for our *own Safety*. We are never ſubject to having our Letters ranſack'd, and the Secrets of our Families expoſed to the Deriſion or Reſentment of *great Men* and *little Clerks*, but when it is in order to *ſecure our Liberties*, and *preſerve us from Ruin*; nor, indeed, ought it to be commonly practiſed, on the *King*'s Account, as well as the *People*'s; becauſe it would, in a great Meaſure, diſcourage Perſons from communicating their Thoughts in this Manner, unleſs on the moſt common and indifferent Affairs, and thereby greatly prejudice his Majeſty's *Revenue*.

For it is obſervable that the Reaſon, given for the *Clauſe* in the Act of Parliament before cited, is to prevent the *diſcouragement* to *Trade*, *Commerce* and *Correſpondence*; which I preſume will not be the leſs diſcourag'd by *Secretaries of State* opening Letters, than by *other Perſons*; and therefore even *They* ought not to practiſe it but upon very urgent Occaſions; for which Reaſon it is added in this Clauſe, that no Perſon ſhall open any Letter, even by a *Secretary*'s Order, unleſs by an *Expreſs Warrant in Writing for* EVERY *ſuch opening*, &c. and I am very loth to give Credit to the Sugeſtions of ſome Men, that This hath been, at any Time, evaded by leaving a *blank dormant Warrant* at the Office, to be filled up at

at the Diſcretion of the *Poſt-maſter-general*, by the Direction and for the Service of his *Principals*, as Occaſion requires.

It is, I preſume, on the ſame Account, (*viz.* to prevent any *Diſcouragement* to *Trade*, *Commerce*, and *Correſpondence*) that no Perſon hath yet been, is, or, I hope, ever will be thought proper to be placed at the Head of this *Office*, who is known or ſuſpected to be concerned in any Branch of *Trade* or *Commerce* whatſoever; becauſe it would evidently give Him too great an Advantage over the *Properties* and *Dealings* of his Fellow-Subjects,

But to proceed.—In *ſlaviſh Countries* nothing is more common than the Exerciſe of this Authority, not to ſecure the Subjects from Danger, but to involve them in it; to make them give Evidence againſt Themſelves, and incur Penalties, which they do not deſerve. We ſhall, in thoſe Countries, often find it made uſe of (like AURICULAR CONFESSION) to gratify the Jealouſy, Curioſity or Deſigns of a *great Man*; by diving into the Secrets of Families, and acquainting himſelf with all their various Circumſtances, Inclinations, Sentiments, Influences and Paſſions; by which Means he knows how to conduct his own Schemes; for he can judge from hence who are to be brought over to his Intereſt, and by what Means; whether by Money, Flattery, Places or Power; and can ſet his Mark on others, whom he finds to be *unmanageable*.

A *Poſt-Office-General*, thus managed, is a ſort of *Microcoſm of Intelligence*; which contracts the various Sentiments and Opinions of Mankind within its own little Bounds; and may be compared to a *glaſs Beehive*, through which the owner can view, at Pleaſure, the different Motions, Contrivances and Employments of the little buſy Colony within.

How unhappy muſt that People be, who live in a Country, where ſuch an Uſe is made of this Authority! and where an Invention, which was firſt deviſed

for the Eaſe and Convenience of the Subject, is ſo manifeſtly turn'd to his Injury and Diſadvantage! This is a Circumſtance, to which thoſe Nations, who formerly liv'd under Servitude, were not ſubject; and is much more grievous than even thoſe Crowds of *Spies* and *Informers*, which are ſo frequently complained of, by *antient Hiſtorians*, in the Courts of *Tyrants*. The Slaves of old were only liable to the Information of ſuch Men; and were in no Danger of having their Packets rifled, and their private Correſpondence expoſed to the Sight of jealous Princes or revengeful Stateſmen; by which Means an innocent Jeſt, an impartial Repreſentation of current News, or an unguarded Expreſſion to a Friend may be made a Mark of Diſaffection, and the unjuſt Cauſe of a Man's Ruin; or at leaſt a Bar to all his future Views and Expectations.

The neareſt Reſemblance to this Practice, which we meet with in antient Hiſtory, is the Stratagem of a famous Tyrant, whoſe wicked Actions having rendered him jealous of all his People, even of his own Domeſticks, Privadoes, and Boſom Favourites, ordered the Rooms of his Palace to be contrived in ſuch a Manner that all Sounds might be conveyed by Pipes into that Part, where he reſided himſelf; ſo that nothing could be uttered under his royal Roof, tho' in the loweſt Whiſpers, which his attentive and ſuſpicious Ears could not eaſily diſtinguiſh.

D.

Monday

№ 38. *Monday, April* 17, 1727.

How hard is the Condition of our Sex?
In all the dear, delightful Days of Youth,
A rigid Father *dictates to our Wills,*
And deals out Pleaſure with a ſcanty Hand.
To his the Tyrant Husband's *Reign ſucceeds.*
Proud with Opinion of ſuperior Reaſon,
He holds domeſtick Buſineſs and Devotion
All we are capable of knowing, and ſhuts us,
Like cloyſter'd Idiots, from the World's Acquaintance.
ROWE.

MY Deſign, in this Paper, being to do Juſtice to Perſons of all Conditions and of either Sex; I cannot any longer poſtpone the following Letter from a *loyal Female Correſpondent*, in Defence of the moſt amiable Part of the Creation; eſpecially, ſince the Arguments, alledged in their Behalf, are very plauſible, if not convincing; and my fair Readers may depend on it, that I ſtill retain too ſtrong a Senſe of the Pleaſure, which I have formerly taken in their Converſation, to refuſe them any Favour in my Power; at leaſt ſo reaſonable a Requeſt as is now made to me; for according to the Poet,

Old as I am, for Ladies Sport unfit,
The Power of Beauty I remember yet,
Which once inflam'd my Love, and ſtill inſpires
my Wit.

To

To CALEB D'ANVERS, *Esq;*

Venerable Sir,

I Have, for a long Time, been a ſilent Obſerver of the inſolent Superiority, which your Sex has aſſumed over ours; and of the many pretended Advantages, which they boaſt of on their Side. They look upon us, for the moſt Part, as trifling Amuſements and pretty Playthings to toy away an Hour with; to divert the Spleen; or ſoften the Fatigues of ordinary Buſineſs. They allow us at beſt to be good domeſtick Drudges only, fit to manage the Affairs of a Family; and excuſe Themſelves to their ſneering Companions, for mating with ſuch poor ſimple Creatures, by ſaying with a ſupercilious Air, that we are *neceſſary Evils*. In ſhort they treat us, as if we were of another Species, as well as of another Sex; and as if there was as much Difference between them and us, as between the rational and irrational Part of the Creation.

Nay, ſome of the old ſelf-ſufficient Philoſophers of your Sex (for I will not allow that there are no *Female* Philoſophers) have carried the Point ſo far as to maintain that *Women have no Souls*.--Poor Wretches! I laugh at their Folly, as much as I deſpiſe their Arrogance; and as wiſe as they might think themſelves, I could eaſily expoſe the Abſurdity of excluding us from all the Concerns of the *Commonwealth*.

Indeed too many, even among us, through Cuſtom, Education and early Impreſſions given them in their Childhood, look upon themſelves in the ſame Light. They have been bred up in this Opinion; and being contented, either through Indolence or want of Thought, with the humble Station, which is allotted them, jog on in their low Sphere, without any Ambition, and really imagine themſelves an inferior Sort of Beings to Mankind; poſſeſſed with meaner

meaner Capacities and more confin'd Underſtandings.——But I, Sir, having ſtrictly examined this Affair, am reſolved to let you and all the World know (if you dare to publiſh this Letter) that we not only *have Souls*, but Souls as large and comprehenſive, as capable of Improvement and of performing great Actions, as any of you all.

Were it only the pretty *Tupèe* Sparks and fine Dreſſers of the Age, who careſs'd themſelves with this Notion, I ſhould not think it worth my while to animadvert upon them; for even the weakeſt of our weak Sex (as they delight to call us) is more than a Match for the wiſeſt of them. We lead them by the Noſe, and make what *Dupes* and *Bubbles* of them we pleaſe, at the ſame Time that they deſpiſe us. But what provokes me thus, is to find that ſeveral of the beſt Writers of your Sex have the ſame deſpicable Opinion of us; one of whom ſays, that *the utmoſt of a Woman's Character is contained in a domeſtick Life*. I deny This with both my Hands, and will prove it to be falſe; but cannot, by the Way, help obſerving that, provided it were true, it does not become Gentlemen of ſo much Honour and good Nature (as They love to be thought) to be always inſulting their Inferiors with Boaſts of their Preheminence; and continually ſhewing their Wit upon us ſilly Women, who are in all Reſpects ſo much beneath them. Methinks this conſtant Endeavour to detract from us, looks like a tacit Confeſſion that They do not in their Hearts believe there is ſo wide a Difference between us, as they pretend.

You ſay, that in Philoſophy, Mathematicks and all Points of abſtruſe Learning, the Advantage is manifeſtly on your Side. I grant it; but it does not follow that you have better Capacities than we to attain theſe Arts, provided ours were equally cultivated and improved. We are not brought up to *Literature*; and yet ſome of us, by our own Application, have made

made a conſiderable Figure in it; whereas how many of thoſe vaſt Numbers of your Sex, who are kept ſeven or eight Years at School, and as many at the Univerſity, and have no Pains nor Expence ſpared for the Embelliſhment of your Minds; how many of you, I ſay, are there, who, after all This, know nothing farther than the bare Names of ſome particular Sciences and the Titles of a few common Books?

To upbraid us therefore with your Superiority in *Learning* is juſt as reaſonable, as if one of us ſhould pretend to be a greater Genius than Sir *Iſaac Newton*, becauſe ſhe underſtands *Lace* and *Silks* better.

In *domeſtick Affairs*, I think you grant us the Precedence. You allow that we are very good *Paſtry-Cooks*; that we are perfectly acquainted with the Mechaniſm of a *Pudding*, or the Structure of a *Pye*; that we can make *Jellies* or *whipt Cream*, and manage a *ſet Dinner* with great Order and Dexterity. Why even This, as trifling as it may ſeem, is more than half the Men in *England* can do. But is This all the Buſineſs of a good *female Oeconomiſt*? No; how many Women could I mention, who have, by their wiſe Conduct and domeſtick Policy, retriev'd the diſtreſs'd Affairs of their Spendthrift Huſbands; ſnatch'd them from the very Gates of a Priſon; and reſcued them from the laſt Extremities of Hunger and Infamy? Does not This ſhew ſome Wiſdom? Does it not bear ſome Reſemblance to redeeming the Miſcarriages of a weak Government, and ſettling the Diſorders of a convuls'd State?

Yet ſuch is the Ingratitude of Mankind; and ſo jealous are you leſt we ſhould come in Competition with you for Conduct and good Senſe; that whenever any Woman, for the Sake of her Husband and Family, takes upon herſelf the Adminiſtration of Affairs, ſhe is immediately branded by her Neighbours with the Character of a *She-Tyrant*; and the good Man

Man is call'd *Hen-peck'd*; as if a Woman could not be prudent and diſcreet, without being a Termagant and a Vixon. From hence comes that witty Saying, *the grey Mare is the better Horſe*; and that oppobrious Imputation of *wearing the Breeches*; which can imply no more than that a *wiſe Woman* is obliged to ſupply the Place of a *fooliſh Husband*.

I have hitherto ſpoken of Women only in a *private Character*. The principal Objection is to be anſwered ſtill; which is, that they are unequal to *publick Buſineſs*, and incapable of managing the great Concerns of *Government* and *War*.

Now, if I had a Mind to be ſmart upon the fine Gentlemen of the Town, and railly them upon their Negotiations with our Sex; I believe I could puzzle them a little with ſome Queſtions, that I could put to them, concerning the Subtlety, Penetration, Fortitude and Reſolution of ſome Dames, whom they have met with. I could ask them whether they think it impoſſible for a Woman to be *tam Marte quam Mercurio*, (there's *Latin* for you) and whether they never heard of ſome buxome Laſſes, who have been lately diſcovered in our Armies, after having ſerved with the utmoſt Gallantry in ſeveral Campaigns; but leſt I ſhould incur the Cenſure, which is generally paſſed upon us Women, of being impertinent upon all Occaſions, and turning ſerious Things into Ridicule, I ſhall carefully avoid every Thing of that Nature, and maintain a due Diſtinction between the Terms of a *Tea-Table* and the Reaſonings of a *ſolid Lucubration*.

I will not inſiſt upon the Exploits of *Camilla*, *Thaleſtris*, and divers *Amazonian* Ladies, whom we read of; becauſe, perhaps, you will reject them as fabulous. Neither will I mention any other *Heroines* of remote Antiquity, however well atteſted, either of our own or foreign Countries; becauſe it will be inconſiſtent with the Conciſeneſs of a Letter, and I have

Inſtances

Inſtances nearer at Hand, ſufficient for my preſent Purpoſe.

To begin no higher than Q. *Elizabeth* of ever glorious Memory; when was the *Britiſh* Name, both in Peace and War, both at home and abroad, carried to a greater height than in the Reign of that immortal Princeſs? Did ſhe not in Perſon advance againſt the *invincible Armada*, with which ſhe was threatened from *Spain*; and were not all Affairs of State conducted with as much ſound Policy in her Reign as in any we read of either before or ſince; not excepting even our late *glorious Treaties* and *wonderful Negotiations*?--Do not ſay that it was owing to her choice of *wiſe Miniſters*; for That may be equally objected againſt any Prince whatſoever. Beſides, it is a certain Sign of *Wiſdom* to make ſuch a *wiſe Choice*; and I will defy you to inſtance any *weak Prince*, who for ſo many Years together always had the Happineſs to blunder upon ſuch *able Politicians*.

Perhaps it may be expected that I ſhould not, in this Place, omit to mention the late Queen ANNE; in whoſe auſpicious Reign the *Britiſh* Arms and Name were carried to ſo great an height; eſpecially during the firſt nine glorious Years of her Government; and I cannot help obſerving, even concerning the *latter pacifick* Part of her Life, notwithſtanding our zealous Party-Diſputes about it, that *thoſe Perſons*, who had the Conduct of her Counſels or approved of their Meaſures, ſeem to have no Reaſon, *at preſent*, to be aſhamed either of their *Politicks* or their *Judgment*.

But what will farther inforce this Argument, is the noble Magnanimity and princely Wiſdom, with which the preſent Empreſs of RUSSIA has begun her Reign. She advanced herſelf to that high Station, which ſhe adorns, by the ſole Merit of her extraordinary Virtues; and we are told, with as much Certainty as ſuch Matters can be communicated to us, that the late CZAR, her Husband, had ſo great a Veneration for her Judgment, that he conſulted her in all his moſt

ſecret

ſecret and important Deſigns. Indeed the Dexterity and Addreſs, which ſhe has already diſcovered in the Management of publick Affairs, render it not at all incredible; and if ſhe ſhould maintain the Government of that unwieldly Empire with the ſame Tranquillity and Succeſs, which ſhe has hitherto done, I ſhall not doubt the Truth of what we have been told; and I hope our Enemies in FRANCE (I mean the *Enemies of our Sex)* will allow that there is no Occaſion for a *Salique Law*.

I ſhould be ungrateful to my own Country, if I did not, in this Place, take Notice of a PRINCESS, adorned with the unſpotted Virtue of the *two firſt*, and with the great Abilities and Wiſdom of them all; a *Princeſs*, who hath diſtinguiſhed herſelf in a remarkable Manner for the *Proteſtant Religion*, not only as ſhe is perfectly acquainted with the moſt intricate Points of Divinity (which appears by the Papers between the late famous Mr. *Leibnitz* and the learned Dr. *Clarke)* but as ſhe alſo refuſed one of the greateſt Titles of this World, rather than comply with *Popiſh Superſtition*. I will only add, that Providence has rewarded her in a manner, worthy of ſuch a pious Reſolution, by her near Alliance to one of the greateſt Monarchies in *Europe*; and by having it entailed, in the fulleſt Manner, upon her illuſtrious Poſterity for ever.

I hope you will not be ſo partial to your *own Sex* as to refuſe to do Juſtice to the whole Body of *Womankind*, by inſerting this Letter, from

SIR,

Your conſtant Reader,

A. N. BRITANNICA.

N° 39. *Friday, April* 21, 1727.

Exemplo *quodcunque* malo *committitur*, ipſi *Diſplicet* Autori. *Prima eſt hæc ultio, quod*, ſe Judice, *nemo nocens abſolvitur ; improba quamvis Gratia fallacis Prætoris vicerit urnam.* Juv.

Abchurch-Lane, April 19.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, *Eſq;*

Worthy Sir,

HAving been, for theſe many Years, engaged in the Cauſe of Mankind, by carrying on a ſucceſsful War againſt the *laſt Enemy that is to be deſtroyed*, I preſume you are no Stranger to my Name or Character ; and as you ſeem to have the publick Good equally at Heart, I beg Leave, with great Humility, to make my Application to you in this Manner.

I do not intend to trouble you, Sir, with an Account of my common Medicines ; or with the numberleſs Cures, however ſurprizing, which I have performed with them, for ſeveral Years paſt, throughout all Parts of this Kingdom ; for theſe are Points ſo generally known and ſo publickly teſtified, almoſt every Day, in the News-papers, that I ſhould be inexcuſable to my Country, in whoſe Service you are ſo ſeaſonably and zealouſly engaged, ſhould I endeavour to detain you at preſent, or waſte your precious Moments with any tedious and unneceſſary Relations of this Nature.

In

——— *In publica commoda peccem,*
Si longo ſermone morer tua tempora, Caleb.

I ſhall therefore treſpaſs on your Patience no longer than while I acquaint you with a wonderful Diſcovery and Improvement, which I have lately made in the Art, Myſtery, and Practice of Phyſick; frankly confeſſing, at the ſame time, that I took the firſt Hint of it from the Writings of an *inveterate Enemy*; but I hope it will not be thought the leſs valuable or deſerving the Encouragement of the Publick on that Account; for, doubtleſs, a Gentleman of your great Penetration and Sagacity muſt have obſerved, that as all publick-ſpirited Deſigns are conſtantly attended with Envy, Clamour, and Ill-will (of which you are yourſelf an ever-memorable Inſtance) ſo a Man of Genius and Capacity can draw Advantages from the Objections, which are made againſt him, and improve the Malice of perſonal Enemies to the Service of the Publick.

——— *fas eſt & ab* Hoſte *doceri.*

But to come to the Point. You may remember, Sir, that about *ten* or *twelve* Years ago, a celebrated Poet, ſtill living, thought fit to vent his Spleen againſt me in a ſmart little Piece intituled, the WORMS; occaſioned by the univerſal Fame, even at that Time, of my excellent *Powders*; in which having endeavoured, with more Pleaſantry than Argument, to prove that all Mankind were only different Species of *Reptiles*, he has the two following Stanzas, *viz.*

That Stateſmen *are but* Worms *is ſeen*
By all their winding *Play.*
Their Conſcience *is a* Worm *within,*
That gnaws them Night and Day.

O! M——re, thy Skill were well employ'd,
And greater Gain would riſe,
Could'ſt thou but make the Stateſman *void*
The Worm that never dies.

Now, Sir, though this waggiſh Piece of Wit and Drollery gave me ſome Uneaſineſs at that Time, by turning my *Medicines* into Ridicule, and expoſing me to the Deriſion of the Town; yet it ſtarted a Thought in my Head, that a Remedy might be prepared to bring away this troubleſome *never-dying Inſect*; and I have not reſted ſince, till I had brought it to Perfection; which, at length, with great Expence, Study and Labour, I have accompliſh'd.

I am willing to take the *Poet*'s Word for it, that my Skill has been *well employ'd*; and that ſo uſeful a Diſcovery will amply recompence all my Pains and Application. For though it is generally believed that few *Stateſmen* are much afflicted with this *terrible Inmate*; yet, upon a careful Inſpection of human Nature, I find it to be a vulgar Error; and am fully ſatisfied that, notwithſtanding the outward *placid Behaviour* and *ſmiling Aſpect* of theſe Men, (which may be the Effect of *Habit* and *Art*) their own Minds often put them on the Rack, and torment them with Reflections on the vile Meaſures, which they are purſuing.

I cannot therefore, in the leaſt, doubt that this Notice will be very agreeable to *wicked Politicians* and *ill deſigning Miniſters* of all Nations; who will be glad to hear that a Method is at length found out to ſilence the Murmurs of a *grumbling Conſcience*, and put a Stop to the Remonſtrances of that factious *Boſom-malecontent*; eſpecially in the preſent Scene of Affairs; when ſeveral *dirty Jobs* muſt be done; and the moſt *unwarrantable Meaſures* ſeem neceſſary to be taken,

taken, by the *Diſturbers of the publick Tranquility*, in order to patch up their former *bungling Miſchief*, and get rid of thoſe Difficulties, in which they have involved all *Europe* as well as *Themſelves*.

In ſhort, Sir, this matchleſs Invention and *Noſtrum* wants only to be known, in order to be univerſally encourag'd; which makes me apply to you for your Approbation; and, I hope, I need not deſpair of it, ſince you have been pleaſed to recommend the *golden Specifick* in ſo ſtrenuous and effectual a Manner; for though my Brother KING is, beyond all doubt, a very able Practitioner in his way, and his *Specifick* is an excellent Remedy in thoſe Diſtempers, for which it is recommended; yet give me Leave to obſerve, that as the *Malady*, which I propoſe to cure, is much more *grievous* and *painful*, ſo the *Medicine*, which removes it, ought to be eſteemed the more valuable; for That, which relieves a Fit of the *Spleen* or *Vapours*, will not give Eaſe to the violent Rackings and Corroſions of a *vulnerated Conſcience*. There cannot be a ſtronger Proof of This, than the Confeſſion and Example of Dr. *King* himſelf; who hath lately thought fit to apply to me in this Diſtemper; and though he has not been under my Care above three or four Days, yet he is viſibly on the mending Hand; and I hope to make a perfect Cure of him in a ſhort Time; for he has already diſcovered very hopeful *Symptoms* of his Recovery; being in a great Meaſure free from that uneaſy *Compunction* of Mind, and thoſe continual *nocturnal Pains*, with which he was heretofore ſo grievouſly afflicted.

As I deſign, for the future, to *advertiſe* in your Paper, I have ſent you a Catalogue of the Cures, which I have already compleated with this new-invented Remedy, teſtified under the Hands of my *Patients* themſelves, according to Cuſtom; and deſire they may be inſerted in your next *Craftſman*; for

which the Bearer will ſatisfy your Bookſeller. I hope to ſend you ſeveral more in a ſhort Time, and am,

Worthy *Caleb*,

Your conſtant Reader, Admirer

and Fellow-Labourer,

J——hn M——re.

The Reader may remember that I was under Apprehenſions of being peſtered with *Letters* and *Advertiſements* from all the *Quacks* about Town, when I publiſhed my Recommendation of Dr. KING's *Specifick*; and the Event has exactly anſwered my Expectations; for there is ſcarcely a Pretender to Phyſick in this Metropolis or the Suburbs of it, who has not appl'ed to me, either by himſelf or his Friends, by Word of Mouth or by Letter, directly or indirectly, for the ſame Favour. It is almoſt incredible what Multitudes of Petitions I have rejected; what preſſing Importunities I have withſtood; and what tempting Bribes, of all Kinds, I have refuſed, rather than contribute, like the late famous Dr. *Ch——n* and others, to any Impoſitions on the Publick, by proſtituting my Name in *venal Certificates* and *Recommendations*. But nothing has ſurprized me ſo much as this Letter from Mr. *M—re*; which contains ſuch a ſhameleſs Requeſt, that nothing could have induced me to print it, but a Deſign to expoſe it. I hope, for the Sake of Virtue and common Honeſty, that this *Remedy* is only a Creature of the Author's Brain, and the extravagant Rhodomontade of a boaſting, modern *Emperick*; but if there ſhould really prove to be any Truth in this *Diſcovery*, I think the Uſe of ſuch a *pernicious Medicine* ought to be prohibited, in a civiliz'd Nation, like *chew'd Bullets*, *liquid Fire*, or

white

white Gunpowder in War; for as *Virtue* is commonly its *own Reward*, ſo *Vice* too often eſcapes without any other *Puniſhment* than That, which the *Vicious* feel in their *own Breaſts*.

It is at leaſt ſome Satisfaction to an injur'd Nation, to conſider that however an exalted Criminal may proſper in his Deſigns, he conſtantly carries a Tormentor about him, and ſecretly executes Juſtice upon himſelf; that whatever *Sunſhine* he may diſcover in his Face; or however, by conſtant Flattery and ſumptuous Living, he may keep up his Spirits and ſupport his Grandeur in publick; yet when he retires into his Cloſet, or lays himſelf down on his Pillow, he ſtarts at his own Power, and feels the moſt exquiſite Tortures in reflecting on the Triumphs of his Guilt. His Thoughts are diſturbed by Day and his Sleep by Night. His own DREAMS deſtroy his Quiet as much as the VISIONS of others; and he finds as little ſolid Comfort in the ſincere Repreſentations of his *own Heart* as in the ſordid Adulation of his *pretended Friends*, or the well-grounded Oppoſition of his *real Enemies*.

I cannot therefore be ſo great an Enemy to the Good of Mankind, as to contribute my Aſſiſtance, in any Manner, towards eradicating a Principle, which is often the only Check upon wicked Men, and the only Puniſhment of evil Actions. But if Mr. *M—re* will content himſelf with continuing his Hoſtilities as uſual, againſt common Diſtempers, nobody ſhall be more ready than myſelf to recommend him to the World, according to his Deſert. Nay, to give him an Inſtance of my good Will, I will communicate to him a Project, which I apprehend will, in a great Meaſure, anſwer all the Purpoſes of his other Invention, conſiſtent with publick Good and the Welfare of Mankind. I mean by ſubduing another *Worm*, natural to human Minds, called the *Worm of Avarice*; which is full as *inſatiable* as the *Worm of Conſcience*.

If

If my ingenious Friend can, by any *vermifugous* Preparation, bring away or deſtroy this pernicious *Animalcule*, which commonly fore-runs, breeds and cheriſhes the *other*, I will not only promiſe him all the Aſſiſtance in my Power, but likewiſe undertake for the Encouragement and Approbation of all honeſt Men. *A.*

N° 40. *Monday, April* 24, 1727.

Tros, Tyriuſve *fuat, nullo Diſcrimine habebo.*
VIRG.

THO' nothing is more commonly talk'd of and wiſh'd for in Converſation, as a deſireable Bleſſing, than a COALITION *of Parties*, and the Extinction of all thoſe miſchievous *Denominations*, which have ſo long kept up our inteſtine Diviſions and exaſperated one Part of the Kingdom againſt the other; yet nothing ſeems to have been really leſs deſign'd, or attempted by Perſons of *either Side*; whoſe Conduct and Proceedings are living Contradictions to their Words and Profeſſions. They are all forward, in their Turns, to lament the unhappy Diſtinctions, which prevail amongſt us; and at the ſame Time equally contribute their Aſſiſtance to promote and inflame them; by bringing every Action, either of a publick or private Nature, to this Teſt, and deciding the Affairs of the World more by Party and Faction, than by Truth, Reaſon and Equity.

This Spirit of *Animoſity* and *Diviſion* is, in a Manner, *hereditary* and *innate*; or, at leaſt, like the Paſſion of *Love*, it is eaſily kindled in youthful Minds, and

and often hurries them into Violence and Exceſs. Young Men are naturally furious in their Purſuits; and having been carefully train'd up in the Belief of *one* particular Set of Opinions, and in a ſtrong Veneration for *one* particular Body of Men, in Oppoſition to *another*, diſtinguiſh'd by different Names, They think that they cannot adhere to their *Denomination* with too much Obſtinacy; nor maintain what are called their *Principles* with too much Zeal and Vehemence. The common Prejudices and early Impreſſions of Education, join'd with a Deference to the Judgment of Parents and Inſtructors, ſeldom fail to produce theſe Effects. But this Warmth, like the Paſſion before-mentioned, generally wears off with the Advance of Years. We cool by Degrees, as we grow old, in our Affection for *empty Names* and *idle diſtinctions*; being taught by Experience that *One* as well as the *Other* is *all Vanity and Vexation of Spirit*.

There are, indeed, ſome Men, who carry both theſe Paſſions along with them to the Grave, and diſcover all the Violence of Youth in the Impotence of old Age; but what a ridiculous and contemptible Figure do They make in either Caſe? There is, methinks, a very near Reſemblance between an *old doting Partiſan* and a *ſuperannuated Lover*; for however excuſable or becoming theſe Paſſions may be, at proper Seaſons, in young Men; ſuch a *political Bigotry* and fondneſs for *Names*, without any Meaning, are as unbecoming *Wrinkles* and *grey Hairs*, as *Venery* and *Lewdneſs*.

But leſt I ſhould be miſunderſtood, or miſrepreſented on this Subject, as endeavouring to write down all Zeal for publick Good, and diſcourage all Diſtinction between the *Friends* and *Enemies* of our Country; I deſign to explain what I mean by a *Coalition of Parties*, and how far I could wiſh that all Names of *Diſtinction* were laid aſide.

Every

Every Body knows that, for near a *Century* paſt, this Kingdom hath been almoſt continually agitated with Contentions; occaſion'd by mutual Jealouſies and Uneaſineſſes between the *Prince* and the *People*, for *Liberty* on one Side, and the *Prerogative* on the other; in which alſo *Religion* has been not a little concern'd. Theſe Diſputes, which have divided the Nation into two great Factions, and brought about ſeveral wonderful Revolutions in our Government, ſeem, at preſent, to be in a great Meaſure terminated by the firm Eſtabliſhment of the *Proteſtant Succeſſion*, againſt all Attempts to defeat it; and by the general Affection of the People to his Majeſty's Perſon, Family and Government.

Notwithſtanding This, the Names of *Diſtinction* are ſtill kept up, when our Differences are ſo generally reconcil'd; and we preſerve the ſame Bitterneſs, Hatred and Animoſity againſt one another, whilſt we are in the *ſame Intereſt*, and purſue the *ſame End*, as when we profeſſed *contrary Views*, and took *Meaſures* diametrically *oppoſite*.

If you ask a *Whig* for his Opinion of a *Tory*, he'll tell you, in general, that he is a *Jacobite* or a *Papiſt*; a Friend to *arbitrary Government*, and againſt the *Liberties* of the People both in *Church* and *State*.

Take the Character of a *Whig*, in like Manner, from a *Tory*, and you will hear him deſcrib'd to be a Man of *Republican Principles*; a *Preſbyterian*; and a ſworn Enemy to the Church of *England*, and the *regal Prerogative*; nay, it will be well for him, if he is not ſet forth as a downright *Atheiſt*, or *Libertine*, and an Enemy to *all Government* whatſoever.

But will either a *Whig* or a *Tory*, if you put the ſame Queſtions ſeparately to them, acknowlege theſe *Characters* to be juſt; or adopt ſuch *Principles* as their own? No; there is not, I believe, one in an hundred of either Party, who would not deny them in the moſt ſolemn Manner; and exclaim very loudly againſt ſuch uncha-

uncharitable Treatment; the juſt Inference from which is, that as every Man muſt be ſuppoſed to wiſh for his own Happineſs, and conſequently for the Welfare of his Country; ſo no Man of common Senſe, who hath the leaſt Knowledge of the Conſtitution of this Nation, can poſſibly eſpouſe *ſuch Principles*; and therefore it is very unjuſt to charge any Perſon with maintaining Tenets, which he ſolemnly denies; and which, being inconſiſtent with his own Intereſt, he cannot reaſonably be ſuppoſed to maintain.

It muſt be confeſſed, indeed, that there are ſtill ſome Perſons, who, either from the unhappy Tendency of their Religion, from old inveterate Prejudices, or an unaccountable Way of thinking, are ſo far Enemies to themſelves, as to wiſh for the Subverſion of this Government in Favour of a *Popiſh Pretender*, and arbitrary Power; but Theſe, it is to be hoped, are ſo inconſiderable for their *Numbers*, and more ſo for their *Riches* and *Strength*, that their Principles ought not to be extended to the whole Body, or even to the major Part of the *Tories*, though they have generally paſſed, in our party Conteſts, under that Denomination.

What therefore is to be wiſh'd, in our preſent Circumſtances, is that all Perſons, however diſtinguiſh'd by party Appellations, who are truly in the Intereſt of the *preſent Government*, and deſire the Continuance of it, would conſolidate themſelves into a Body, and unite in Meaſures againſt the *common Enemies* of their Country, whether *foreign* or *domeſtick*; that they would forget all their former unreaſonable Animoſities; and whilſt they are equally exerting their Endeavours to accompliſh the *ſame End, viz.* the Happineſs of their Country, that they would not quarrel with one another about any Differences in Judgment concerning the *Means*.

Let the *true Sons of the Church*, and eſpecially the *Clergy*, lay aſide all unneceſſary Fears or Apprehenſi-

ons of its *Danger*; and content themſelves with thoſe Rights, Immunities and Powers, with which the Law hath inveſted them, without endeavouring to ſtretch them any farther. Let the *Proteſtant Diſſenter* acquieſce under that *Toleration* and thoſe *Privileges*, with which the Legiſlature hath thought fit to indulge him. Let the *Whig* enjoy his *Liberty* and *Property* in its fulleſt Latitude, without reproaching the *Tory* as an Enemy to both; and let the *Tory*, in his Turn, drop all his Bitterneſs and Malevolence againſt the *Whig*, as diſaffected to *Monarchy* and *Religion*; or rather let the very Names of *Whig* and *Tory* be for ever buried in Oblivion; and let there be, for the future, no other Diſtinction known amongſt us, but of "*Thoſe*, (as our late *glorious Deliverer* expreſs'd it) "who are for the *Proteſtant Religion* and the *pre-* "*ſent Eſtabliſhment*; and of Thoſe, who mean a "*Popiſh Prince* and a *French Government*."

I would not be underſtood, by ſuch a *Coalition*, to mean a ſordid Compliance, at all Times, with the Meaſures of a *Court* or the Demands of *great Men*; for as Miniſters often have private, ſelfiſh Views, ſeparate from the Intereſt of their Prince, as well as their Country, it is the Duty of every loyal Subject and honeſt *Briton* to oppoſe and uſe all his Endeavours to defeat them. *Cicero* very juſtly obſerves, that ſuch a mean *Subſerviency* is rather a *Conſpiracy* than a *Coalition*. *Si omnia facienda ſunt, quæ Amici velint, non* Amicitiæ *tales, ſed* Conjurationes *putandæ ſunt*.

Neither do I eſteem the *Conjunction of a few* LEADING MEN on both Sides, for *venal* and *corrupt Ends*, to be properly a *Coalition of Parties*; or ſuch an Union as is deſirable in any Nation; for, at this Rate, *Catiline* and his Aſſociates might have ſanctified their *Conſpiracy* with the Name of a *Coalition*, becauſe there were wicked Men of *all Parties* engaged in that Deſign; but we know in what Light their deteſtable Tranſactions were look'd upon by the honeſt Part of the

the *Roman* People; and indeed all *Combinations*, of this kind, in any Nation, ought to be rejected and abhorred by the united Body of *both Parties*; becauſe both Parties are equally *deſerted* and *betrayed* by ſuch *Combinations*.

In fine, by a *Coalition* I mean the cordial Union and Co-operation of Perſons of all Denominations in the true Intereſt and Service of their Country, without any Attachment to *vain Names*; which can ſerve only to keep alive our deſtructive Animoſities and promote the ſiniſter Views of ambitious Men, at the Expence of our private Happineſs and the publick Good. As This is the only *Coalition*, which can either be deſired or juſtified, ſo I hope my Countrymen will no longer ſuffer themſelves to be impoſed on by artful *Demogogues* and ill deſigning Patrons of *Faction*; eſpecially ſince Experience has, I think, ſufficiently taught them the *Miſchief* and *Folly* of ſuch Conduct. Inſtead of dividing ourſelves into oppoſite Parties, and branding one another with odious Diſtinctions, let us chearfully concur in the common Cauſe, and make the Intereſt of *Great-Britain* the only Rule of all our Actions. Let us not, for the future, run blind-fold into any Propoſals, however romantick and unreaſonable, becauſe they are offered by *one* Set of Men; nor madly ſhut our Ears to any Objections, however juſt and well-grounded, becauſe they are ſtarted by *another*. This will be the ſureſt and only Method of reſtoring *Peace* and *Commerce*; of reviving our drooping *Manufactures*; of leſſening our *Debts*, and reducing our *Taxes*; at the ſame Time that it will moſt effectually ſecure us from *foreign Violence* and protect us againſt *domeſtick Corruption*. *D.*

N° 41. *Friday, April* 28, 1727.

Quale Portentum *neque militaris*
Daunia *in latis alit æſculetis*;
Nec Jubæ *Tellus generat, Leonum*
Arida Nutrix. Hor.

NOtwithſtanding the notorious Infidelity and Libertiniſm of the Age, in which we live, with regard to all ſorts of *Prodigies, Portents* and *Omens*, I am not aſhamed to acknowledge ſome Belief in ſuch extraordinary Appearances, when they are confirmed by ſubſequent, extraordinary Events; which I think cannot be entirely rejected, unleſs we diſcredit the concurrent Teſtimonies of the beſt Hiſtorians, antient and modern, ſacred and prophane; particularly *Livy*, *Clarendon* and *Echard*. I ſhall not dwell on thoſe wonderful Apparitions, ſo generally known, which preceded the Aſſaſſination of *Julius Cæſar* and the great Duke of *Buckingham*; but haſten to the Point in view, by making ſome Obſervations on thoſe equally-ſurprizing Omens, which happen'd, as it were but yeſterday, amongſt ourſelves.

Indeed the laſt Year may be juſtly eſteemed a *Year of Wonders*, not inferior to any recorded in Hiſtory; whether we conſider it either with relation to thoſe uncommon, preter-natural Effects, which have raiſed the Aſtoniſhment and Curioſity of the Publick; or to thoſe extraordinary Events, that have ſucceeded them; the *latter* of which, in my Opinion, ought to be looked on as the Completions or Accompliſhments of

of what the *former* were deſigned to be *Types, Notice* and *Predictions.*

It would be endleſs to enumerate all thoſe ſtupendous Prodigies, miſhapen Monſters, ſtrange Sights and unheard-of Wonders, which have been lately exhibited to our Eyes. Not to mention the *wild human Youth* brought forth by an old *Oak*, in a deſart, uninhabited Foreſt abroad; or the young *Lyons* whelp'd, in ſo uncommon a manner, at home; we have ſeen black Swans, white Bears, ſix-legged Cows, Men with two Heads, flying Horſes, ſpeaking Dogs, and dancing Elephants in abundance; which would have employed all the Attention of antient *Oracles* to explain. *Channel-Row* was never ſo plentifully ſtocked, as it hath been for the laſt Summer and Winter, with portentous Rarities of all kinds; which at the ſame time that they ſerve to amuſe the vulgar and ignorant, excite the Curioſity of learned Men, and prepare their Minds for *Events*, ſuitable to ſuch ominous Prognoſtications.

I ſhall confine myſelf, at preſent, to only three of the moſt amazing *Phænomena*, which have lately appear'd amongſt us, *viz.* the famous *Rabbit-Breeder* of *Godalmin* in *Surrey*; the prodigious *three-leg'd Eagle*, which was taken alive this Spring in the *Weald* of *Kent*; and the wonderful *Young-man*, who was deliver'd, but t'other Day, of a chopping Girl in *Fetter-lane*.

As theſe ſeveral Appearances are equally preternatural and aſtoniſhing with any that we read of in the Hiſtory of antient or modern Times; ſo it would be the moſt inexcuſeable Negligence in a publick-ſpirited Writer to let them paſs without any Comment or Examination at a Time, when we are ſurprized, on every Side, with the moſt unexpected Occurrences and Events; to which theſe *Phænomena* ſeem to bear ſo manifeſt a Relation.

For this Reaſon, tho' I do not pretend to any great Depth in *Augury*, *Aruſpicy* and *Oracular* Learning, I cannot ſuffer myſelf to be entirely ſilent on a Subject of ſuch Conſequence to this Kingdom; and I hope that any Ignorance or want of proper Abilities, which I may diſcover on this Occaſion, will be thought at leaſt more excuſeable than the ſhameful Silence and Neglect of others, who are better qualified for ſuch a Task.

I know the World is, at preſent, generally prejudiced againſt the poor Woman of *Godalmin*; and look upon the reputed *Rabbit-birth* as a common Cheat, Forgery and Impoſture; which can be imputed only to the Inconſiſtency of ſome *Relations*, that have been made of this Affair, and the prevailing *Infidelity*, before-mention'd, with regard to *Prodigies* of all Kinds. But I have always profeſſed and ſhall conſtantly pay ſuch a Deference to learned Men, of all Profeſſions, in their reſpective Employments, and eſpecially to the Faculty of *Phyſick*, that I could never be induced to join in the common Cry, by detracting from the Credit of this Story, and preſuming to be wiſer than Men of the greateſt Experience, moſt profound Judgment and unqueſtionable Integrity, who were ſo deeply concerned in this Affair; and, having made theſe Studies the Buſineſs of their Lives, muſt be ſuppoſed better acquainted with them than any other Perſons.

Tho' I have myſelf ſuffer'd a great Deal of Slander and Ridicule, in common with theſe *ſkilful Adepts* and *Operators*, for my Credulity in this Matter; yet I found myſelf, every Day, more and more confirm'd in the Belief of it, by what has *ſince happen'd among ſt us*; of which I take that ſurprizing Occurrence to be a *remarkable Preſage*; and I think no body can doubt it any longer, after the full *Diſcharge* of Mrs. *Toſts* from her Confinement, and all future Enquiry about it; which I am confident ſhe would not have obtain'd, if there had been any reaſonable Grounds to form a

io n againſt Her.

The

The Truth therefore of this wonderful *Conception* and *Delivery* being thus eſtabliſh'd, as I think, beyond all Diſpute; it remains to be conſidered what Event ſuch an *anomalous Production* can be ſuppoſed to prognoſticate or point out to us; but This is a Subject of ſo tender a Nature, that it is not yet a proper Seaſon to enlarge upon it any farther. I muſt therefore leave it, at preſent, to the Conjectures of every diſcerning Reader; not in the leaſt doubting that Time and a little Patience will explain it, in the fulleſt Manner, to the moſt common Apprehenſions.

I ſhall therefore beg Leave to paſs on to the ſecond ſtrange and portentous *Phænomenon*, which I have juſt mention'd and propoſed to conſider; namely, the monſtrous great *Eagle with three Legs*, which was lately caught by a *Kentiſh* Shepherd, whilſt He was committing the moſt terrible Ravages on the young *Lambs*, under his Care, in *Romney-Marſh*. This Omen, I think, may be eaſily underſtood, explained and applyed by any Perſon, who hath the leaſt Knowledge in *Emblems* and *Hieroglyphicks*; for an *Eagle* being the known Symbol of *Empire*, as a *Lamb* is of the *Britiſh Woollen Manufacture*; it cannot be doubted that, by this wonderful *triple-leg'd Bird of Prey*, ought to be underſtood the late Confederacy of *Three* very formidable Potentates, (viz. the *Emperor*, the *Czarina* and the King of *Spain*) in order to ſuppreſs our *Manufactures*, and deprive us of our *Trade* and *Commerce*. It is farther obvious to infer (and I obſerve it with the greateſt Pleaſure) that as this lordly-feather'd Tyrant and ravenous Invader of *Property* was timely ſurprized in his Depredations, by the Vigilance and Courage of a careful Shepherd; ſo thoſe *ambitious*, *ungrateful* and *daring Monarchs* will be ſhortly obliged to deſiſt from their exorbitant Demands and unwarrantable Uſurpations, by the unſhaken Reſolutions and moſt incorruptible Integrity of a *Britiſh Adminiſtration*.

We may explain the other *heterogeneous Production* in almoſt the ſame *political* Manner; for the Circumſtance of a *young Man*'s being got with Child and actually brought to Bed of a Daughter is ſo contrary to all the ordinary Laws of Nature, and ſuch a total Inverſion of the Properties of his Sex, that it ſeems to bear no ſmall Reſemblance to that * *unaccountable Conjunction*, which, according to a late excellent Writer, *was out of the Road of all Policy*——and of which he found it ſo difficult to give any *reaſonable Solution*.

I know that ſome Perſons have endeavour'd to explain this *Phænomenon*, by applying it to the late *Tranſmutation of Sexes* at our *Maſquerades* and other polite Aſſemblies; but I chuſe rather to adhere to the *former Expoſition* as more appoſite and more momentous; or at leaſt to apply it to the *latter*, only in a *remote* and *ſecondary* Senſe.

It may indeed be objected to both theſe Interpretations, that the *Type* is preceded by the *Anti-type*; and that the *Symbol* or Thing *ſignifying* comes after the Thing *ſignified*; which, we are told, by a *late Writer*, often happens in *Prophecies* and *typical Applications*. But I ſhall leave this Point to be controverted by our modern *religious Diſputants*; it being of no Importance in the preſent Caſe, which relates to *political Matters*, as it cannot deſtroy that Analogy or Reſemblance between two or more extraordinary Events; which is all that I deſign or deſire to prove in this Paper.

I cannot conclude without obſerving that as our Enemies have entered into a moſt *unaccountable Conjunction, out of the Road of all Policy* (to which our late *Prodigies* and *Portents* bear ſo near a Relation) and ſome *Proteſtant Princes* have thought fit to join in a

* Vide the *Enquiry*, &c. Page 5, and 88.

* *popiſh*

* *popiſh Plot* againſt the Liberties of *Europe*; ſo it no leſs wonderfully, and as it were, providentially falls out, that a very powerful *Popiſh Prince* finds himſelf inclin'd (as no doubt it is his *Intereſt*) to unite cordially with us, and enter into a *Proteſtant League*, to defeat ſuch Deſigns, and curb the Ambition of theſe *Popiſh Confederates*.

At the ſame Time, it muſt be confeſſed that This is a Scene of *Wonder* and *Aſtoniſhment*, for which we ought to be very thankful to Providence; ſince this Infatuation of our Enemies, in concerting a Treaty ſo contrary to their own Intereſt, is, perhaps, the only Thing, which could have eſtabliſhed ſo firm a *League*, *Union* and *Friendſhip* between *Us* and ſome of our *preſent Allies*. *D.*

N° 42. *Monday*, *May* 1, 1727.

——— *mutato Nomine, de* TE
Fabula narratur, Hor.

THO' there is commonly a Mixture of good and ill Qualities in the Compoſition of every human Character, and hardly any Man is either perfectly good or compleatly bad; yet if we judge of Mankind by the Characters, which they bear, either living or dead, we ſhall generally find them to be all *Angels* or all *Devils*; made up of

* Vide the Enquiry, Page 79.

pure

pure Virtue without any Allay of *Vice*; or compoſed of *all Vice*, without the leaſt Tincture of *Virtue* or *Morality*.

This prevailing Partiality is ſometimes owing to the Weight of thoſe Virtues or Vices, which predominate in every Man's Character, and ſwallow up his oppoſite Qualities; ſometimes to the Prevalence of Factions and the Force of Flattery and Defamation, according as they are reſpectively apply'd.

No Man of Antiquity is handed down to us in a more amiable Light than *Marcus Tullius Cicero*, the famous *Roman Orator*; and perhaps no Man's Character, in general, better deſerves the Applauſe and Imitation of the preſent Age or Poſterity; yet ſome Perſons, by viewing only *one Side* of it, have worked themſelves into a kind of Enthuſiaſm for his Name; and having heard ſo much of his *Oratory* and *Zeal* againſt *Catiline*, will not ſuffer themſelves to believe that ſuch a Man could have any Failings, Defects, or Infirmities; though it is manifeſt, even from his own Writings, that he was exceſſively *vain* of himſelf; eſpecially of his *Poetry*, which was execrable Stuff; and perhaps he might have ſeveral other Frailties, which are now buried in his more diſtinguiſhed Virtues and Abilities.

I do not deſign to enter into the Merits of the Quarrel between *Saluſt* and *Cicero*; nor to juſtify the ſevere Things, which are charged upon the latter in the following *Declamation*; but as his Character hath been much hackney'd about of late; and ſome Perſons, both *within* and *without* Doors, have been very buſy in making *Compariſons* and *Alluſions* to it, I thought it might not be an improper Time to attempt the following little Piece in *Engliſh*, for the Uſe of thoſe Gentlemen, in their future *Parallels* and *Applications*.

SALUST

SALUST againſt *CICERO.*

A

DECLAMATION.

" I Would ſubmit, however reluctantly, to all " thy falſe Accuſations, O! *Marcus Tullius*, pro- " vided I were ſatisfy'd that this abuſive Language " proceeded rather from ill Judgment than a diſtem- " per'd Mind. But ſince I obſerve that you have " ſhaken off all manner of *Temper* and *Modeſty*, I " will make you ſome Reply; ſo that if you have " receiv'd any Pleaſure from ſpeaking ill of others, " you may now loſe it, by hearing evil of your ſelf. " But where ſhall I appeal? To whom, *Fathers*, ſhall " I make my Complaint, that the Common-wealth " is torn in Pieces, and become the Prey of every " *audacious Traytor?* Shall I apply to the *Roman* " People; who are ſo far ſunk in *Corruption*, that " they are ready to ſell themſelves and their Families " to the beſt Bidder? Or ſhall I call upon you, *Fa-* " *thers*; whoſe Authority is become the Scorn and " Deriſion even of the moſt infamous and abandon'd " Part of Mankind? Whilſt *Marcus Tullius* takes up- " on himſelf to defend the Laws and Decrees of the " *Roman* People, and lords it in ſuch a Manner, as if " he were the only remaining Branch of the moſt " illuſtrious Family of *Scipio Africanus*; and not, " what in reality he is, an Interloper, an Upſtart, an " *emancipated Slave*, a *proſcrib'd Criminal*, and but " lately admitted a Citizen of *Rome*. But is there " any Man, who is unacquainted with your Words " or Actions? Have you not liv'd, even from your " Childhood, in ſuch a Manner, that you never " thought it ſcandalous to ſubmit your Body to the " Luſt and Pleaſure of others? Did not you learn

" even

" even that *immoderate Eloquence* of *Marcus Piſo*, at " the Expence of your *Modeſty*? And therefore it is " not to be wonder'd at, if you ſordidly make a Pen- " ny of That, which you obtain'd in ſo infamous a " Manner.

" As to the *Houſe*, in which you live, you got " Poſſeſſion of it by Violence and Rapine; for which " Vengeance will one Day overtake you and your " Family. By This you put us in Mind how much " the Common-wealth is changed from what it was; " when ſuch an infamous Wretch as you dwell in " that Houſe, which was once the Habitation of *P.* " *Craſſus*, a Man of *Conſular* Dignity; yet notwith- " ſtanding all This, *Cicero* tells us that he hath been " admitted into the Council of the immortal Gods; " that he was diſpatch'd from thence to this City, to " be the Guardian of his Fellow-ſubjects; and yet, " without taking upon himſelf the Name of an *Exe-* " *cutioner*, places his greateſt Glory in the Calamities " of his Country; as if indeed your *Conſulſhip* was " not the true Cauſe of that *Conſpiracy*; and there- " fore the Common-wealth was overturn'd at that " Time, when it had You for its *Protector*. But, I " have Reaſon to believe that you are more exalted " with thoſe notable Feats, which you performed, af- " ter your *Conſulſhip*, in concert with your Wife *Te-* " *rentia*, for the Safety of the Common-wealth; " when you put the Penalties of the *Plautian Law* in " Execution at Home. Some of the *Conſpirators* " you condemn'd to *Death*; and puniſhed others ſe- " verely in their *Pockets*. At this Time, *One* of " them was at the Expence of building you a ſplen- " did *Villa* at *Tuſculum*; *Another* at *Pompeij*; and " a *Third* bought you a fine Houſe in Town; but " *He*, that had *nothing to give*, was in a fair way *to* " *be hang'd*; for that Man was certainly juſt coming " to beſet your Houſe; or engaged in a *Plot* againſt " the Senate; of which you never wanted the ful-

" leſt

" leſt *Evidence* to convict him. If theſe Accuſations " are falſe, give us fairly an Account, what *paternal* " *Eſtate* you had left you. Let us know what you " have made by *Haranguing* and *Speech-making*; with " what Money you bought your *Houſe*, and defray'd " the immenſe Coſt of building the two *Villæ* be- " fore-mention'd. Or, if you are ſilent on theſe " Heads, who can any longer doubt that you have " extorted your Wealth out of the *Blood* and *Bowels* " of your Fellow-citizens? But, I preſume, this *new* " *Man of Arpinum*, deſcended from the Family of " *Caius Marius*, in Imitation of his Virtues, deſpi- " ſes the Envy of the *Nobility*; beſtows all his Care " on the Welfare of the *People*; and is not to be " moved either by *Flattery* or *Threatning*. Is then " *Cicero* really poſſeſſed of theſe Virtues? No; he " is a *vain, ſhuffling, inconſtant Wretch*; *humble* to " his *Enemies*; *inſolent* to his *Friends*; ſometimes of " *one Party*, and ſometimes of *another*; faithful to " *neither*; a *wavering, unſteady Senator*; a *merce-* " *nary Patron*; no part of whoſe Body is free from " Guilt and Turpitude; being compoſed of a *vain* " *Tongue*; moſt *rapacious Hands*; a *gluttonous, in-* " *ſatiable Appetite*; and *cowardly, run-away Feet*; " not to inſiſt on thoſe filthy and moſt abominable " Parts, which common Decency will not allow me " even to mention. Yet this Man, as bad as I have " deſcrib'd him, has the Confidence to tell us in a " wretched Diſtich,

Fortune foretun'd *the dying Notes of* Rome,
Till I, thy Conſul *ſole*, conſol'd *thy Doom*.

" Was *Rome* then happy under your *Conſulſhip*? " No; moſt *unfortunate* and *miſerable*, in ſuffering the " moſt cruel, and unrelenting Baniſhment of her Ci- " tizens; whilſt you, having thrown the Common- " wealth in diſorder and put all good Men in a Con-

" ſterna-

" ſternation, obliged them to truckle to your *Tyranny*;
" whilſt all Decrees and all Laws were at your diſpoſal;
" and whilſt you, by taking away the *Porcian Law*,
" and ſeizing on our *Liberty*, eſtabliſhed yourſelf,
" *ſingly*, in the full Power of *Life* and *Death* over all
" your Fellow-ſubjects.

" Nor is it enough, that you have done all This with
" *Impunity*; but you inſult us by recalling it to our
" Memory; nor will you ſuffer us to forget our Bon-
" dage. Go on then, *Cicero*, I beſeech you, and
" compleat your Deſign. Is it not enough that we
" have endured all This; but will you ſtill grate our
" Ears with the moſt odious Repetitions of it? Will
" you never ceaſe to torment us with thoſe nauſeous
" and moſt offenſive Lines,

Let Arms *give place to the pacifick* Gown,
And Eloquence *put on the* Laurel *Crown.*

" As if you had performed thoſe Atchievements,
" which you boaſt of, in a *Gown*, and not in *Armour*;
" or, as if there were any other Difference, beſides
" the Name of *Dictator*, between *Sylla* and you. But
" why ſhould I give any more Proofs of your Arro-
" gance? The Man, whom *Minerva* condeſcended
" to inſtruct in all her Arts, and whom *Jupiter* vouch-
" ſafed to admit into the Privy-Counſel of the Gods,
" was but lately recalled from Baniſhment, and
" brought into *Rome* upon Men's Shoulders. I beg
" of you, O *Romulus* of *Arpinum!* who have ex-
" celled, with your egregious Virtues, all the *Pauli*,
" *Fabii* and *Scipio's*, to let us know what Rank in the
" City you at length claim? In the Intereſt of what
" *Party* you are pleaſed to be at preſent? Who are
" your Friends, and who are your Enemies? — You
" are now become the abject Tool of *Him*, whom you
" once accuſed of being engaged in a *Conſpiracy*. —
" On what Account did you follow *Him*, ſince your

" Return from your Exile in *Dyrrachium*? You now " abet the Power and Grandeur of *Thoſe*, whom you " called *Tyrants*; and, on the contrary, call *Thoſe* " Madmen, actuated by nothing but *Fury* and *Reſent-* " *ment*, whom you formerly eſteem'd the *beſt Men* " and *worthieſt Patriots* in the City. You plead the " Cauſe of *Vatinius*. You have an ill Opinion of " *Sextius*; and purſue *Bibulus* with the moſt oppro- " bious Language. You commend *Cæſar*; and are " now the moſt obſequious to *Thoſe*, whom formerly " you moſt mortally *hated*. You are of one Opinion " when *in* Power; and another when *out* of Power; " and always change your *Principles* with your Sta- " tion. You calumniate this Set of Men, and hate " That, by turns. In ſhort, you are a ſhuffling *Turn-* " *coat*; and no Faith hath been found in you, either " by *one Side* or the *other*. *A.*

ADVERTISEMENT.

This is to give Notice,

To all Noblemen with large Families and ſmall Eſtates, decayed Gentlemen, Geneſters, and others, that, in the great School *in* Weſtminſter, *Boys are thoroughly inſtructed in all Parts of uſeful Learning. The ſaid School is furniſhed with a* MASTER, *and one* USHER, *who does all the Buſineſs himſelf, and keeps his Scholars in ſuch order, that the* MASTER *never attends but upon ſome* great Occaſion. *This* School *is of a more excellent Foundation than any that were ever yet known; for the Scholars, inſtead of* paying *for their Learning, are* rewarded *for every Leſſon the* USHER *gives them: provided they are* perfect in it, *and have it ready at their Fingers Ends.*

N. B. *This is no* Free School.

N° 43. *Friday, May* 5, 1727.

——— *prodigus Æris.* Hor.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, *Esq;*

SIR,

THE Mind of Man being naturally ſubject to Pride, Vanity and Ambition, it makes us all eager in the Purſuit of Honours, Titles and Diſtinctions of Preheminence, either in Dreſs or Appellation. For this Reaſon a Monoſyllable prefixed to a Man's chriſtian Name; a Medal hung about his Neck; or a Piece of colour'd Ribband croſs his Shoulders, are eſteemed of great Value; and by ſome Perſons preferred even to Riches or Power; and, however trifling ſuch Ornaments, Badges or Titles may ſeem in the Eyes of a moroſe Cynick, or an abſtracted Philoſopher; yet, when juſtly beſtowed, they are certainly very uſeful, expedient and neceſſary for the Encouragement of Virtue, Patriotiſm, Fortitude and Merit of all kinds. But as there are different Paſſions, Appetites and Inclinations peculiar to almoſt every Nation; ſo I have obſerved that the Generality of *true-born Engliſhmen* are remarkably fond of the Title of ESQUIRE; which, beyond all other honourable Appellations, ſeems peculiarly adapted to the prevailing Humour and Genius of this Kingdom. For tho' a *ſimple Eſquire*, conſidered as a Point of Heraldry or Precedence, is but one Remove above the Degree of a common Gentleman; yet I have known ſeve-

ſeveral Perſons decline Titles of much higher Rank and Diſtinction, rather than ſuffer themſelves to be *diſ-eſquired*; and others, who have ſubmitted to it, with great Reluctance, and after much Importunity, in order to carry on ſome private End, or to gratify a different Species of Ambition. Nay, ſome Men have diſcovered ſuch a Paſſion for this Dignity, that they have retained the Spirit of it, long after they have parted with the Name; from whence it comes to paſs, that *'Squire-Knights*, *'Squire-Lords* and *'Squire-Dukes* are no Rarities in this Country.

There is, indeed, ſomething grand, noble and captivating in the very Name and Sound of *Eſquire*; which is a popular Appellation, and carries along with it an Idea of *Liberality* and *Munificence*; inſomuch that a Man, who makes his Friend welcome at home, or entertains him abroad, is proverbially call'd the *'Squire of the Company*.

I cannot pretend, after all my Reſearches, fully to aſcertain the Origin and Foundation of this Saying; but I preſume it might take its Riſe from thoſe antient Times of Hoſpitality, when it was the Faſhion for Gentlemen of plentiful Fortunes to live chiefly in the Country; to keep open Houſe; and ſpend the ſuperfluous Part of their Eſtates in *Beef*, *Pudding* and *ſtrong Beer*, for the Entertainment of Tenants, Neighbours and Travellers; which is now indeed more politely beſtow'd upon Operas, Maſquerades and Baſſet-tables; upon coſtly fine Cloaths; luxurious living; and the extravagant Diverſions of the Town.

As this Method of Life was generally follow'd and kept up by that Order of Men, who were dignify'd with the Denomination of *Eſquires*; (*Knights*, *Baronets* and *Peers*, of all Degrees, not being half ſo common in thoſe Times, as they are at preſent) it naturally procured them the Love of their Neighbourhood, and endear'd their Order to all the inferiour Part of their Fellow-ſubjects.

But as the beſt Things in the World are ſubject to Abuſe, and all Men are fond of *Popularity* and *Preheminence* in their different Stations; ſo the Credit of this Dignity has produced, in Proceſs of Time, a Multitude of undeſerving Pretenders to it; who have proſtituted the Honour of *Eſquireſhip* in a moſt ſhameful and ſcandalous Manner, to the great Grief of Thoſe, who juſtly claim and worthily bear that ancient Appellation.

To ſay the Truth, Mr. *D'Anvers*, we ſeem to have *civilized* our ſelves too far, and carried our *Good-breeding* to an unwarrantable Exceſs, by confounding all Degrees of Perſons and breaking through the moſt eſſential Rules of *Heraldry*; for as all the Women in Town are now grown *Ladies* and *Madams*; not excepting even the loweſt Scullion-maids, Oyſterwomen and Cinder-wenches; ſo every rakiſh young Fellow, as ſoon as he has clapt on a Spit by his Side and pick'd up a parcel of ſcoundrel, ſpunging Companions, immediately ſets up for an *Eſquire*, and ſaucily ranks himſelf amongſt us.

It muſt be confeſs'd indeed that ours is a *military Order*; for which Reaſon we are call'd in Latin *Armigeri*; but though, for want of a ſumptuary Law, every Man is allow'd to wear a Sword, who will be at the Expence of it, and to live in what Manner he pleaſes; there ought certainly to be ſome other Qualification required of every one, who dubs himſelf with this Title, beſides a *ſpendthrift Diſpoſition* and a paltry Piece of *cold Iron*.

Methinks, therefore, it would be a Task well-worthy of our laborious Friend and Brother *John Anſtis*, Eſquire, that Mirror of our Order, to take this Affair into Conſideration, and reſcue his Fraternity from the Contempt, into which it hath lately fallen, by the Incroachments of worthleſs Upſtarts and wretched Pretenders.

I heartily wiſh to ſee this Matter well regulated; becauſe, as Things ſtand at preſent, thoſe Men, generally ſpeaking, take upon themſelves this Character, who have no Title to it, nor any Thing to ſupport it; whilſt ſeveral others, who have both, live in a Manner, which does not become Men of ſuch illuſtrious Diſtinction.

How many pretty Fellows and fine Gentlemen do we every Day ſee in this Town, who waſte their Subſtance in the moſt riotous, diſſolute and extravagant Manner, out of the vain Affectation of *Popularity* and the Pride of being at the *Head of their Company*; which, for this Reaſon, is generally compoſed of low, vulgar Sycophants, who repay their Patrons with this favourite Title and a daily Tribute of Flattery and Adulation?

Nay, this vain Humour is not confined even to ſuch Men; but hath mixed itſelf with the common Maſs, and corrupted even the loweſt of the People. We have *Eſquire-Lacqueys*, *Coblers* and *Tinkers* in Abundance; nor is it any uncommon Thing to ſee a jolly, roaring Sailor, who hath been ſweltering two or three Years in the *Weſt-Indies*, or freezing perhaps as many in the *Baltick*, where he has gone through all manner of Hardſhips, Dangers and Fatigues, ſpending the whole Fruit of his Labour upon a ſordid Crew of dirty, drunken Paraſites; and at length returning with empty Pockets to the ſame Drudgery; fully ſatisfy'd in his Mind with the Applauſe, which he had received, and the good Character he hath left behind him.

As we have an Order of Men diſtinguiſhed by the Title of *Knights of the Induſtry*; ſo I think Thoſe, of whom I have been ſpeaking, may properly be denominated *Eſquires of Extravagance* or *Prodigality*. This kind of Vanity is of very fatal and miſchievous Conſequence in *private Perſons*; but in *political Matters* nothing is more dangerous as well as abſurd; nor can I poſſibly picture any Thing in my own Imagination

tion more ominous to this Kingdom, than a *publick Miniſter*, who being poſſeſſed with ſuch a Spirit, ſhould at any Time, hereafter, endeavour to gratify his own Pride and vain Glory, by making *Great-Britain* the SQUIRE of *Chriſtendom*, and lavishly *paying the Reckoning* of all *Europe*.

I am, SIR, &c.

ROBERT BRITON, *Eſq;*

To CALEB D'ANVERS, *Eſq;*

SIR,

I Have already troubled you with a Project for preventing CORRUPTION, by fixing a *Knot of Ribbands* under the left Ear of all Perſons, who ſhall be known to be guilty of that infamous Practice; and was ſorry to find that it ſhould give Offence to any of your Readers. I now ſend you another Propoſal of the ſame Nature; which, if you are not diſcouraged by the ill Fate of my firſt Attempt, I deſire you likewiſe to publiſh.

I do not pretend, Sir, to claim the Merit of this ſecond Expedient myſelf; but acknowledge that the Publick is obliged for it to the Author of a late Pamphlet, called *An* HONEST SHEME, &c. (which Title it ſeems, on many Accounts, to deſerve) where They will find the following Paſſage *Page* 29.

" —— I wiſh we had the *Roman* Cuſtom, of giving to every *Law* the *Name* of the Man, who was " the firſt Adviſer and Promoter of it. Such a Cuſtom would encourage *Patriots* to propoſe and promote *good Laws*, and would deter *ſelfiſh* and *deſigning Men* from propoſing *bad ones*.

I cannot help thinking that this Method would be very ſerviceable to the Common-wealth, and have a good Effect in the Propoſal of ſuch Laws as the *Riot-*

Act; the *Septennial-Act*; the *South Sea-Act*; the *Black-Act*; the *Quarantine-Act*; the *Perjuring-Act*; the *Coffee-Act*; the *Pot-Act*; and ſeveral others of the like ſort. At the ſame time our *Patriots* would be diſtinguiſhed to Poſterity by the Laws they propoſed; and I ſhould not doubt to ſee the *W——lian*, *Horatian*, *Y——gian*, and *Se——pian* Laws make as great a Figure in our Hiſtories, as the *Perſian*, *Julian*, *Fannian* and *Sempronian* Laws of old.

I ſubmit This to your Judgment, and am once more, *SIR*,

Your Humble Servant,

N. JOHN ENGLISH.

ADVERTISEMENT.

To be publiſhed by SUBSCRIPTION,

A new Diſcovery in the Art of NAVIGATION; *ſhewing how a Ship of* 800 *Tons, or leſſer Burthen, may ſail from the* Weſt-Indies *to* Europe, *and conſequently to any Part of the World, without* Anchors, Cables, Shrouds, *or* Sails; *whereby theſe expenſive and unneceſſary Articles will be ſaved to the Nation.*

Dedicated to the London *and* Royal-Exchange Inſurance Offices.

Subſcriptions *are taken in by the Authors, at the Sign of the* wiſe Men of Gotham, *near a great Pair of Gates in* Broad-Street, London.

Monday

N° 44. *Monday, May* 8, 1727.

——*tolluntur in* altum,
Ut lapſu graviore ruant.

I HAVE already had Occaſion more than once to mention VILLARS, the firſt great Duke of *Buckingham*, that abſolute Miniſter and Favourite of King *James* and King *Charles* the Firſt; who was ſuch an amazing *Comet* of Fame, Power, Fortune and Honour, as hath not been ſince ſeen in our Hemiſphere; and, it is to be hoped, will never be ſeen again! But I was induced, for many Reaſons, to promiſe my Readers ſome farther Account of the Riſe, Character and Conduct of that extraordinary great Man; and I think no Time can be more proper to do it, than the preſent.

I ſhall not ſay much of his *Birth* and *Extraction*, which was rather *obſcure* than *illuſtrious*, if compared to that vaſt Height of Power, to which he afterwards roſe; being only the younger Son of a *private Country Gentleman*, though of an antient Family. But being endowed, by Nature, with a very graceful Perſon and brought up, by the ſingular Fondneſs of his Mother, in a manner, which naturally led him to Court, He ſoon drew upon himſelf the Eyes of a *Prince, who, of all* wiſe Men *living*, it ſeems, *was the moſt delighted and taken with* handſome Perſons *and with* fine Cloaths.

He had not been many Days there before he was made *Cup-bearer* to the King; which was the firſt Poſt he

he enjoy'd, and the firſt lucky Step to all his future Grandeur; *ſince by This He was, of courſe, obliged to be much in the Royal Preſence; and ſo admitted to that* Converſation *and* Diſcourſe, *with which that* Prince *always abounded at his* Meals.

"He acted very few Weeks (as my Lord *Clarendon* informs us) upon this Stage, when he mounted "higher; and being knighted, without any other "Qualifications, He was at the ſame time made *Gentleman of the Bed chamber* and *Knight of the Order* "*of the Garter*; and, in a ſhort Time, (very ſhort "for ſuch a *prodigious Aſcent*) He was made a *Baron*, "a *Viſcount*, an *Earl*, a *Marqueſs*, and became *Lord* "*High Admiral* of *England*, *Lord Warden* of the "*Cinque-Ports*, *Maſter of the Horſe*, and entirely diſ-"poſed of all the Graces of the King, in conferring "all the *Honours* and all the *Offices* of three King-"doms without a Rival; in diſpenſing whereof, He "was guided more by the Rules of *Appetite*, than of "*Judgment*; and ſo exalted almoſt ALL of his *own* "*numerous Family and Dependants*; whoſe greateſt "*Merit* was their *Allyance* to him; which equally "offended the *ancient Nobility* and the *People* of all "Conditions; who ſaw the Flowers of the Crown "every Day fading and withered; whilſt the De-"meſnes and the Revenue thereof were ſacrificed to "the enriching a *private Family*, (how well ſoever "originally extracted) ſcarce ever heard of before to "the Nation; and the Expences of the Court ſo vaſt "and unlimited, that they had a ſad Proſpect of that "*Poverty* and *Neceſſity*, which afterwards befel the "Crown, almoſt to the Ruin of it.

Being thus advanced to the higheſt Pinacle of Fortune, and conſequently ſurrounded with a Crowd of abject Flatterers and Sycophants; ſome of whom (and particularly no leſs a Man than Sir *Edward Coke*) blaſphemouſly called him, *our Saviour*. He began to ſhew himſelf in his proper Colours; ſo that from the

the whole Series and Spirit of his Conduct, we may eaſily trace his juſt Character.

He was a Man of ſuch immoderate and inſolent Ambition, that not content with all the *Power* He enjoy'd, and all the *Favours*, *Titles* and *beneficial Employments*, which were heap'd, in ſo extravagant a Manner, on *Himſelf*, his *Relations*, and *Dependants*; He could not bear to ſee any of his Fellow-ſubjects (though of the *beſt Families*, the *greateſt Abilities*, or the moſt *unblemiſh'd Fidelity* in the Kingdom) to partake with him in the King's Favour in any Degree; or to diſtinguiſh themſelves in any Affair of *Truſt*, *Honour* or *Profit*. This inſatiable, engroſſing Spirit and Impatience to ſee any Man gain Reputation or make his Fortune, beſides himſelf, render'd him jealous of the Earl of *Briſtol*; who was, at that Time, Ambaſſador extraordinary at the Court of *Spain*, and had in a Manner concluded the Treaty of Marriage with the *Infanta*, for which he was ſent thither; for as the King's Heart was very much ſet on this Match, and *Buckingham* apprehended that the Succeſsful Management of it would redound too much to the Honour of that Ambaſſador, he reſolved to diſappoint him by carrying the *Prince* in Perſon into *Spain*; in which he found it no hard Matter to perſuade him, being naturally fond of Adventures; tho' there was ſome Difficulty in obtaining the King's Conſent; but he had now got ſuch an abſolute Aſcendency over Him, that he ſoon removed all Objections; and tho' he ſet out *incog*, yet he appeared there with a ſplendid Retinue, and put the Nation to a vaſt Expence.

As the ſole Motive to this mad, unadviſed Journey (for which any Man ought to have loſt his Head) was private Envy to the *Earl of Briſtol*; ſo *Buckingham* was no ſooner arrived there with the *Prince*, than the ſame inſolent Spirit and exorbitant Ambition engaged him in a perſonal Quarrel, not only with the

the *Ambaſſador*, but alſo with the Duke of *Olivarez*, the *prime Miniſter* of *Spain*; which he was reſolved to revenge on both of them, by returning into *England*, and breaking off the *Match*.

Accordingly, he came back with the *Prince*, not without great Difficulty and Hazard; and having got a Parliament call'd, engag'd them, by falſe Repreſentations, and other unwarrantable Influences, to diſſuade the King from continuing the Treaty of *Marriage*, and immediately to declare War againſt *Spain*.

My Lord *Clarendon* tells us that, "He engag'd "his old unwilling Maſter and the Kingdom in this "War (not to mention the bold Journey to *Spain*, "or the Breach of that Match) in a Time, when "the *Crown* was poor, and the *People* more inclin'd "to a bold Enquiry *how it came to be ſo*, than duti-"ful to provide for its *Supply*; and This only upon "perſonal Animoſities between *Him* and the Duke "of *Olivarez*, the ſole Favourite of that Court; "and thoſe Animoſities from very *trivial Provo-"cations*."

At the ſame Time, *Cranfield* Earl of *Middleſex*, Lord High Treaſurer of *England* (who was one of *Buckingham*'s Creatures, and nearly *allied* to him by Marriage) fell under his *Grace*'s Diſpleaſure, for having neglected to ſupply him with ſufficient Sums of Money, during his Abſence in *Spain*; and even preſuming to diſpute his Commands and appeal to the *King*, whoſe Ear he had now gained; and thought himſelf ſo firmly eſtabliſh'd in his good Opinion, that he ſhould not any longer ſtand in need of the *Favourite*'s Support. But the *Duke*, upon his Return, being apprized of This, and finding the *Parliament* diſpoſed to his Mind, was reſolved to cruſh this bold *Rival*, and thereby deter others from preſuming to interfere with him in his Majeſty's Eſteem.

For this Purpoſe, he prevailed on ſome leading Men in the Houſe of *Commons* to carry up an *Impeach-*

peachment of high Crimes and Misdemeanors against him to the House of Lords; which they undertook with great Readiness, and went thro' with unusual Vigour.

However just or seasonable this Prosecution might be, yet it was generally thought very impolitick for a Man, in his Station or Circumstances, to set it on Foot; and the King himself was so averse to it, both on Account of the great Affection, which he bore to the *Earl*, and also of the bad Consequences, which he apprehended from such a Precedent, that finding the *Duke* positive in this Matter, he told him, in a Passion, "By G—d, *Stenny*, you are a *Fool*; and will "shortly repent this *Folly*, and will find that, in "this Fit of *Popularity*, you are making a *Rod*, with "which you will be scourged yourself; and turning, "in some Anger, to the *Prince*, told him, that he "would live to have his Belly full of *Parliament Im-*"*peachments*.

But excessive Arrogance and Impatience of Emulation, which often overcome the most self-interested Prudence and political Foresight, had so much got the better of him, that he paid no Regard to these wholesome Admonitions, even from the Mouth of his indulgent Prince; whose Power in both Houses proved so much inferiour to the *Duke*'s, that the *Earl*, who was thought, at that Time, to have made a good *Defence*, was at last sentenced in an heavy *Fine*; a long *Imprisonment*; and rendered for ever afterwards incapable of sitting in the *House of Peers*.

Tho' the *King*'s Affection was, in a great Measure, alienated from the *Duke*, on all these Accounts; and it was generally believed that he had recall'd the Earl of *Bristol* to get rid of his *imperious Administration*; yet "He was prevail'd on, by that arbitrary Minion, "to restrain the *Earl* upon his first Arrival, without "permitting him to come into his Presence."

Not-

Notwithſtanding all This, the King was certainly grown weary of ſuch an *inſolent Favourite*; and was reſolved either to diſmiſs him totally from his Service, or to retrench his unlimited Power; at leaſt, this Opinion prevailed ſo much, that it induced ſeveral *great Men*, in both Houſes, to withdraw their former *abſolute Dependance* on him,

But the King's ſudden Death (which, it was thought, happen'd very opportunely for him) and Prince *Charles*'s Succeſſion to the Throne procur'd him, as it were, a new Leaſe of Power, and re-inſtated him in his former Grandeur; for tho' the *Prince* could not have intirely forgot his *former Inſolence* and *perſonal Indignities* to him; yet the *Duke*, by the Journey into *Spain*, which was very grateful to the *Prince*, and his great Power in his *Father*'s *Court*, had found many Opportunities of extenuating or excuſing that Part of his Conduct; which he did ſo effectually, "that he "continued in the ſame Degree of Favour at the "leaſt with the *Son*, which He enjoy'd ſo many Years "under the *Father*.——All Preferments in *Church* "and *State* were given by him; all his *Kindred* and "*Friends* promoted to the Degree in *Honour*, *Riches* "or *Office*, that he thought fit; and all his *Enemies* "and *Envyers* diſcountenanced, as he appointed."

But tho' he had thus firmly re-eſtabliſhed himſelf in his *Maſter*'s Favour and Confidence; yet he did not long retain his Credit with the *Parliament* and *People*; for the ſame over-bearing, impetuous Temper, which had hurried him, in the former Reign, into a War with *Spain*, upon a mere *perſonal Affront*, made him, in This, run as violently into a War with *France*; without any other Provocation, than a Diſappointment in an *Amour*; which involved him in ſeveral fatal Difficulties, from which he could never extricate himſelf.

For theſe two Wars, thus unwarrantably enter'd upon, and the Defeats, which attended them, raiſed

a general Conſternation in the People; and occaſion'd general Clamours, Mutinies and Animoſities againſt the Author of them. *Votes* and *Remonſtrances* paſſed againſt him, in Parliament, as an *Enemy to his Country*; the *Corrupter of the King* and *Betrayer of the Liberties of the People.* In ſhort, all Mouths were open'd againſt him, and he ſeem'd to be, once more, haſtening to his Deſtruction.

But, in the midſt of this univerſal Indignation, a bold, obſcure Ruffian, inſtigated by a falſe enthuſiaſtical Zeal for his Country, ſtabb'd him to the Heart in a publick Aſſembly; and in all probability ſnatch'd him from a more ignominious Fate, which afterwards befel the Earl of *Strafford* and others, who were engaged in the ſame kind of Meaſures; and from which the King's Authority was not able to protect them.

Thus fell this *great Man*, who, as my Lord *Clarendon* aſſures us, "had by long Practice obtain'd a "quick Conception and Apprehenſion of Buſineſs; "and had the Habit of *ſpeaking* very gracefully and "pertinently. He was, beſides, of a-moſt *flowing* "*Courteſy* and *Affability* to all Men, who made any "Addreſs to him; and ſo deſirous to *oblige* them, "that he did not enough conſider the *Value* of the "*Obligation* or the *Merit* of the *Perſon* he choſe "to oblige; from which much of his Misfortune re-"ſulted. — *Nay we are farther told*, that it was ne-"ver known that the Temptation of *Money* ſwayed "him to an *unjuſt* or *unkind* Thing." — I mention This, becauſe it ſeems ſomewhat extraordinary in a Man of his Character.

I muſt treſpaſs on my Reader ſo far as add, by way of Corollary to this Paper, a little Fable out of *Osborne*'s Works; which I think not impertinent to the preſent Occaſion. He tells us, "that wiſe *Gunda-*"*mour* being urged, by King *James*, to relate the "intrinſick Cauſe of the Duke of *Lerma*'s Declenſi-"on, from the moſt potent Favourite his Catholick "Majeſty

" Majeſty ever raiſed, to a Condition ſo deplorable,
" as little if any thing was left, beſides a *Cardinal's*
" Cap, able to ſhroud his Head from the Inſults of
" the Populace; He made him this metaphorical Pa-
" rable.

" Two RATS, ſaid he, *having tempted their For-*
" *tune in purſuit of Livelihood and Honour, fell upon*
" *an Houſe of no leſs* Receipt, *than Plenty of* Provi-
" ſions; *where, for many Years, they lived in the*
" *greateſt* Senſuality *their Wills and Wiſhes could*
" *prompt them to deſire; till overcome by an ambiti-*
" *ous Thirſt of advancing, together with* Themſelves,
" *all that could pretend to their* Alliance *or* Friendſhip,
" *ſo much* Spoil *was committed, as did alarm the*
" whole Family, *and they becoming thus* numerous,
" *bad* Traps *and* Poiſon *laid for them in every*
" *Place.* C. D.

The END *of* VOL. I.

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